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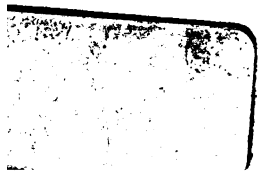

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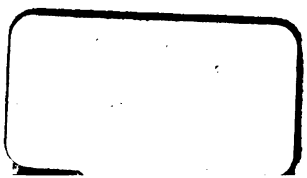

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Hailes

"Lord Hailes published three strange letters relating to the Court of James I."

Andrew Bisset "Essays on Hist. Truth" Lond. 1871. p. 7.

Bisset, in the above volume, takes a very dark view of the Character of James I. He B., cites as the above p. 7. a letter from Buckingham found on p. 164 of this Edition.

William R. Wallace
New York
1893

MEMORIALS

AND

LETTERS

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN

IN THE

REIGN

OF

JAMES THE FIRST.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

By James Dalrymple, Lord Haile

THE SECOND EDITION,

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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TO

PHILIP YORKE,

EARL HARDWICKE,

LEARNED IN BRITISH HISTORY,

THE EDITOR

INSCRIBES THIS COLLECTION.

PREFACE.

THE publiſhers of ſuch collections, as that which is here offered to the public, are generally conſidered as dull taſtleſs men, who ſeek no farther merit in a paper than that of being old or ſcarcely legible: they have, however, their pretenſions to literary fame; and, indeed, thoſe pretenſions are ſo moderate, that it is hard to reject them altogether.

To invention, to accuracy of compoſition, or to elegance in ſtyle, they can offer no claim; they are not hiſtorians, they only prepare materials for hiſtory: they chuſe out blocks from the quarry, and having, with much patience and toil, brought them above ground, they leave them there to be poliſhed and arranged by more able artiſts.

A French writer gave thanks to Heaven for the makers of dictionaries: with like gratitude, it would ſeem, that hiſtorians ought to ſpeak of thoſe "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the compilers of original papers.

When indeed writers, like Varillas, Raguenet, and Leti, deliberately impoſe upon the world by the recital of what never happened; when they diſplay their eloquence by celebrating actions which their heroes did not perform; and their political knowledge, by tracing out the cauſes of imaginary events; ſuch writers will have little occaſion for the ſervices of the humble compiler; and if ever they ſhould think fit to appeal to original papers, they can, as Varillas did, forge authorities as well as facts.

"Mais que faire de ces paperaſſes?" ſaid Pere Daniel, when all the treaſures of the French King's library were laid open to his view. Hiſtorians far ſuperior to Pere Daniel, have entertained ſentiments widely different. Strype, Anderſon, Keith, and many other dull men, furniſhed materials to Robertſon: even a D'Alembert could profit by the taſtleſs labours of an Arkenholtz, the inanimate biographer of the extravagant Chriſtina.

There are who affect to ſay, that from "the letters and memorials con-"cerning the affairs of Britain," which ſtill remain in manuſcript, nothing new nor curious can be diſcovered. The truth of this aſſertion may be diſputed, even with regard to the aera of Queen Eliſabeth, but when applied to that of her ſucceſſors, the aſſertion

is abſolutely erroneous. How little, for example, is known of the negotiations between Secretary Cecil and King James, before his acceſſion to the throne of England? and how imperfect are all the printed accounts of the Spaniſh match? Yet the learned in Britiſh hiſtory well know that thoſe ſecret and intereſting tranſactions may be explained from papers hitherto unpubliſhed.

In the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, many volumes of memorials and letters, relating to the hiſtory of Britain during the ſeventeenth century, are preſerved: moſt of them appear to have been collected by Sir James Balfour of Kinnaird, Lion King at Arms in the reign of Charles I. His aſſiduity, in amaſſing materials for the hiſtory of that period, has been greater than his

judgment in ſelecting them; for, with ſome papers intereſting and uſeful, many others equally tedious and uninſtructive, are blended.

A curſory peruſal of this bulky collection induced me to believe, that from it ſome letters and memorials might be choſen, tending at once to diſplay the genius of that age, and to throw new lights upon many characters diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory.

With this view I prepared a collection of "memorials and letters," and ſubmitted it to the public; ſenſible, however, that works of this nature generally meet with few readers, and with little approbation, I took care that mine ſhould neither offend by its bulk, nor by the largeneſs of the impreſſion.

The collection was received with more approbation than I expected:

it is now republiſhed with conſiderable additions, partly tranſcribed from Sir James Balfour's papers, partly communicated to me by my friends. The letters from Lord Bacon, which were inſerted in the former edition, are not reprinted, as they have found a place in the late edition of his works. Some proceedings of the Privy Council in Scotland, concerning one Rigg, are alſo omitted, as being imperfect and affording little entertainment to the reader.

They who happen to know my political notions, without knowing my diſpoſition, may ſuppoſe that this collection is intended as a ſatyr on King James and his miniſters: but it will be remembered that I only tranſcribe what others have written. Sure I am that I feel infinitely more pleaſure in recording the amiable ſen-

ſibility and maternal affection of the Dutcheſs of Lennox, than in recording the little arts and ſervile adulation of courtiers, or the petulant familiarity of an overgrown favourite.

It is probable that ſome more volumes, formed upon the ſame plan, may be hereafter offered to the public. Moſt of the conſiderable families in Scotland are poſſeſſed of original letters, which may tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of Britain during the ſeventeenth century: if perſons of diſtinction, poſſeſſed of ſuch letters, approve of my plan, and are willing to contribute their aid for its accompliſhment, the favour will be gratefully acknowledged.

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

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TO
KING JAMES,
Enquires after his health;——thanks him for ſome preſents of game;——praiſes his generoſity and hoſpitality, p. 165.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Expreſſes the moſt extravagant love and gratitude to the King, p. 166.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
In the like ſtrain, deſires the King to beſtir himſelf, and ſend a coach for him, p. 168.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Converſation with a Spaniſh agent;—ſtate of the negotiations with France;——congratulates the King in his being courted by all ſides, p. 169.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Thanks the King for ſtudying to make him popular;—declares that it ſhall ever be his popularity, to diſpleaſe and deſpiſe all the world, if oppoſed to his maſter, p. 171.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Mentions his having diſſembled with Secretary Calvert;——applauds himſelf for it;——the King's letter to the Pope about the diſpenſation, p. 174.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Diſpenſation from the Pope;——converſation with the French ambaſſador. Buckingham's opinion as to the ſtate of the treaty of the marriage with France;——exceſſive praiſe of the King, p. 175.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Mentions his being detained in town about a witchcraft;

and his preparations for his embaſſy into France, p. 178.

DUTCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM
TO
KING JAMES,
Excuſes her having reſolved to wean her daughter without the King's permiſſion;—gives her reaſons for that meaſure, p. 179.

DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF LENOX
TO
KING JAMES,
Recommends her ſon to the King, p. 180.

APPENDIX.

KING JAMES
TO
THE EARL OF MARR,
Deſires him to repair to London, in order to give information of a conſpiracy for ſeizing Prince Henry, with whoſe cuſtody the Earl of Marr had been entruſted;---he ſends the copy of a letter which he had written to Q. Anne of Denmark, p. 183.

KING JAMES
TO
QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK,
Denies that he ſuſpected her of any Popiſh or Spaniſh courſes;——chides her for her froward womanly apprehenſions;——ſays, that he loved and reſpected her as his

wife, and the mother of his children;——but that it is the ſame thing to him, whether ſhe be a king's or a cook's daughter;——deſires her not to give credit to flattering ſycophants, who endeavour to repreſent the King's eſteem of a faithful ſervant, as inconſiſtent with his regard to her, p. 185.

KING JAMES
TO
THE EARL OF MARR,
Recommends Viſcount Fenton to him;——ſays, that if he were not a king he would be ſecond to his friends againſt every adverſary, p. 188.

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON
TO
CARRE, EARL OF SOMERSET,
As a dying man, makes ſome requeſts to Lord Somerſet;——proteſts, with his laſt breath, that he loved Somerſet for his virtues, and did not court him for his fortune, p. 190.

MEMORIALS

AND

LETTERS

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,

KING's ADVOCATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

MY conceived fear, that my ſilence could not find out any lawful excuſe, if I ſhould not advertiſe your Majeſty of the progreſs and event of the criminal perſuit of Meſſ. John Forbes, Welch, and others, their complices, before your Majeſty's Juſtice, for their treaſonable declining your Majeſty and your ſecret council's judgment, makes me bold to write in that matter; which, as well in reſpect of a moſt high point and large part of your Majeſty's authority royal brought in queſtion by the ignorant and inflexible obſtinacy of theſe defenders, as in regard of the moſt careful expectation of a great part of your Highneſs's ſubjects, in this your kingdom, over-doubtſomly [too doubtfully] diſtracted, during the uncertain event thereof, partly by ſuperſtitious, and partly by feigned zeal to their profeſſion, and affection to their perſons for their profeſſion's ſake; being of ſo high and dangerous conſequence, as the miſcarrying thereof might have exeemed a great part of your Majeſty's ſubjects from your Majeſty's juriſdiction and obedience in matters of doctrine and diſcipline, and all things which they ſhould have pleaſed to affirm to be of that nature, and therewith

have given them occaſion, and as it were lawful liberty, or liberty by your Majeſty's own laws and ſentences, to have maintained that liberty once purchaſed, and daily to have encreaſed the ſame, to the manifeſt peril, not only of further impairing, but with time, of utter ſubverſion of your royal power within this kingdom. God having now brought it to that good end, that, after langſum, [tedious,] difficil, and moſt contentious travels, they are convicted by aſſize of that treaſonable declinator. I ſhould omit as neceſſary a point of my duty, as if I had not replied to their moſt probable alledgeances, if I ſhould conceal from your Majeſty, that the firſt and greateſt praiſe of this good ſucceſs ſhould be given to your Majeſty's ſelf, for foreſeeing this matter to be of ſuch difficulty and danger, as it required the particular direction of your Majeſty's own moſt excellent wiſdom, by the report and proſecution of my Lord of Dunbar, who, I am aſſured, in all his life was never ſo ſollicitous for the event of the trial of other men's lives; for, at his here-coming, finding that matter full, not only of foreſeen, but alſo of unexpected difficulties, his care and diligence therein has been ſo aſſiduous, wiſe, and provident, that having made ſecret choice of this time and place (which by effect has proved moſt proper) and ſo vively [livelely] expreſſed to your Majeſty's Juſtice, Juſtice-Clerk, and other members of that court, your Majeſty's care of the maintenance of your royal power, brought in queſtion by that proceſs, with the undoubted favours which they

might expect by doing their duty, and moſt certain diſgrace and puniſhment, if, in their default, any thing ſhould miſcarry; He proceeded thereafter to the preparation of ſufficient forces able to execute all the lawful commandments of your Majeſty's council, in your ſervice; and, for that purpoſe, having brought with him to this town a very great number of honourable barons and gentlemen, of good rank and worth, of his kindred and friendſhip; finding, beſide other great impediments, the chief peril to conſiſt in the want of an honeſt aſſize, who, without reſpect of popular favours, report, threatnings, or imprecations, would ſerve God and your Majeſty in a good conſcience; for known default of conſtancy and good affection in others, he was compelled to cauſe his own particular and private kinſmen and friends to make the moſt part of the aſſize, who being admitted upon the ſame, if he had not dealt in that point but [without] ſcrupuloſity or ceremony to reſolve them of the wonderful doubt, wherein, by many means, chiefly by the thundering imprecations of the pannel, [perſons arraigned,] and contentious reſiſtance of their own aſſociate aſſizers, they were eaſten, that whole purpoſe had failed, to our infinite grief, and your Majeſty's over-great prejudice. For the good ſucceſs whereof I ſhall ever thank God, and ever pray him and your Majeſty, to put us to as few eſſays in the like cauſes as may poſſibly ſtand with the weal of your Majeſty's ſervice, in reſpect of the ſcarcity of ſkilled and well-affected aſſizers in theſe cauſes; for if my Lord of Dun

bar had wanted your Majesty's most provident directions, or if we had been destitute of his wise and infinitely sollicitous diligence and action in this purpose, in all men's judgments it had losed, wherein our misluck could never have found any excuse, which might either have given satisfaction to your Majesty, or contentment to our own minds, albeit our consciences and actions did bear us record, that we served with most faithful affections, and careful diligence. But now we have to thank God that it is well ended. And I must humbly crave your Majesty's pardon for my boldness and over-long letter, which shall be always short in comparison of my long and endless prayers to God for your Majesty's health, content, and long happy life. At Lithgow, the 11th January, 1606.

Your Sacred Majesty's

most humble and faithful servitor,

TH. HAMILTON.*

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* This letter gives a more lively idea of those times, than an hundred Chronicles can do. We see here the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the King, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them *without scruple or ceremony*. It is also evident that the King's advocate disliked the proceedings as inpolitic and odious, but that he had not resolution to oppose them. The detail of this trial, and of its consequences, may be found in Spotiswood and Calderwood.

LORD FLEMING TO KING JAMES.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I RECEIVED your Majeſty's letter directed to me by the Biſhop of the Iſles, bearing, that ſome reports have been made of my ſcrupulous judgment in this intended erection of Biſhops, and willing me to concur with all my power in the furtherance of that ſervice, as being moſt neceſſary for your Highneſſes obedience in this kingdom, and the preſervation of the purity of religion in the ſame: Whereanent [concerning which,] pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty, I am ſo far from conceiving any ſcruple, in that or any other work your Highneſs is pleaſed to intend, that, once knowing the ſame to be your Majeſty's pleaſure, I acquieſce: perſuading myſelf it muſt be agreeable both to godlineſs and equity; for of your Highneſſes zeal to the advancement of both, we have all ſufficient experience; and if any make ſcruple of your Majeſty's proceedings, their fault, in my opinion, is not to be excuſed. I humbly, therefore, entreat your Majeſty to conceit of me as an ſubject reſolved to ſerve and follow your Highneſs in whatſoever I ſhall be commanded, and will then eſteem myſelf happy, when your Majeſty ſhall find me in any ſort worthy of favour or employment, wherein others may go beyond me in ſkill and ability,

but in affection I cannot cede to any. Fearing to offend your Majeſty by longer letter, I remit all, which elſe I would ſay, to the bearer his ſufficiency, whom I know your Highneſs will credit, and now, kiſſing your Majeſty's hands in humble ſort, I take my leave.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble

and obedient ſubject and ſervant,

FLEMING.*

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* Created Earl of Wigtoun, 19th March, 1606.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND TO KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

WE your moſt humble and loyally affected ſervants, having heard ſome reproachful ſpeeches, uttered in the lower houſe, by ſome evil-diſpoſed ſpirits, to the diſhonour of this your Majeſty's antient kingdom, and that only your Majeſty had ſtand [ſtood] to our defence; we have, in all humility, by theſe preſents, preſumed to take notice of the ſame, and to yield your Majeſty moſt humble and hearty thanks, not having committed any thing againſt that ſtate deſerving ſuch injuries, and far leſs worthy of ſo great favour, as it has pleaſed your gracious Majeſty to vouchſafe, by vindicating us from their opprobrious calumnies. It is no little grief to us till [to] hear, what juſt cauſes of diſcontentment are miniſtred to your Majeſty at all theſe meetings for enforcing that union ſo greatly hated by them, and ſo little affected by us, except in that religious obedience we ought to your Majeſty, not to diſlike any thing that likes your Highneſs. And if it may pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty, without offence, to hear our apology, in defence of the honour of our country, we doubt not to make it known, by the true records of bygone times, ſince this iſland has been firſt inhabited, that in no point of ſincere Chriſtia-

nity to God, loyal obedience till [to] our princes, inviolate friendſhip with our confederates, and unconquered liberty of our eſtate, we have never been inferior to them; and, in the very ſubject of the union, whereat they pretend ſo many frivolous exceptions, that their advantage ſhall be every way greater nor [than] ours. We would be ſorry to be authors of diſtracting that, which your princely wiſdom, and fatherly care, has happily contracted, having ſo deeply taken in heart, ſo to unite theſe two kingdoms, joined by nature, but by affection altogether diſtant *, as no marks of diverſity betwixt them till [to] the after coming ages ſhould appear. Yet we are perſuaded, that our juſt defence againſt theſe falſe imputations laid upon all the nation, not ſparing your ſacred Majeſty, nor your moſt royal progeny, nor your moſt worthy anceſtors of a hundred and ſix kings †, lineally deſcending of one ſtock, cannot but, in your Majeſty's accuſtomed juſtice, receive at your hands a favourable cenſure; and if, in any meeting, either private or public, whereof we had many about that ſubject, ſuch audience was ever

* The Editor *ſtill* repeats what he ſaid in the former edition of theſe letters——" May we not hope that this " iſland is now joined in affection, as well as by nature, " under the government of GEORGE THE BRITON?"

† Some critics have attempted to ſtrike forty off the liſt; however, even without theſe forty, there are ſtill enough remaining for the honour and felicity of Scotland.

given till [to] any ſpeech, either derogating to the honour of that ſtate, or diſſuading the union, however there be among us, not a few of the beſt ſort, who are as alien from it as any of the lower houſe, and has more juſt cauſe to be diſcontented with ſo eaſy obliterating of bygone wrongs, let it be till [to] us a diſloyal part againſt your Majeſty, and unworthy of true friendſhip againſt our neighbours; but, contrarywiſe, ſuch has been the diligent care of your miniſtry here, upon whom your Majeſty is pleaſed to repoſe the weight of your affairs, that knowing your Majeſty's earneſt diſpoſition to perfect their union, in all the conferences, they have laboured to extol all the apparent benefits we might receive thereby, and to conceal and ſuppreſs the true ills: in doing whereof, although we have reported ſmall thanks of theſe, who ſo liberally have talked of us, or thoſe who in ſo patient hearing did clearly manifeſt their allowance of all was ſpoken; yet your Majeſty's princely reſenting our wrong, and urging the trial and puniſhing thereof, is more nor [than] ſufficient recompence, if our lives and all our fortunes ſhould be endangered in any thing might yield your Majeſty ſatisfaction; and if, under your Majeſty's correction, to the which we always ſubmit ourſelves, your Majeſty would be pleaſed to deſiſt from any further moving of this union, and make known to the eſtate, that the whole inhabitants of the iſle are your Majeſty's ſubjects, and that in all your ſervices and employments, you will indifferently prefer thoſe, whom your Majeſty, in your

wiſdom, ſhall find moſt capable: that your Majeſty will vouchſafe to grace us with your reſidence among us ſometimes, and ſeclude us from no favour your Majeſty, in your royal prerogative, may give us, and whereof we ſhall render ourſelves, by our careful and loyal deſerving, to prove worthy, we doubt not but they ſhall require at your Majeſty's hands, that which, by this enforced dealing, they would appear to refuſe. But this, and all other things tending to the liberty and honour of this your Majeſty's antient kingdom, we remit to your Majeſty's moſt rare and princely wiſdom, humbly requeſting your Majeſty to take in good part this our moſt humble thanks, having nothing elſe to offer your Majeſty for all your undeſerved favours, but our moſt loyal hearts, which ſhall never debord from the ſmalleſt of your Majeſty's thoughts. Thus, humbly craving pardon of our preſumption, we pray God to grant your Majeſty, after a long and happy reign, eternal felicity. From your Majeſty's burgh of Edinburgh, the 3d of March, 1607.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble

and obedient ſubjects,

MONTROSE.	BLANTYRE.
LOTHIAN.	ROXBURGH.
DUMFERMLINE, Cancell.	ELPHINSTON.
J. BALMERINO.	R. COCKBURN.
AL. OCHILTREE.	

COUNTESS OF DORSET TO KING JAMES.

MOST BLESSED KING,

CHRIST himſelf was not offended with the women that ſought him; and my truſt is, he directs me ſtill to your Majeſty, being ſure I have neither broken the laws of God to my huſband, nor the laws of your kingdom, neither offended you in deed, word, or thought; and therefore, as I will aſſuredly truſt in the Almighty, I ſhall never have cauſe to come to you for mercy, ſo will I never leave ſuing unto you for juſtice, knowing you are the kings of the earth, to do all rights for the King of heaven.

I humbly beſeech you, give me leave to ſpeak with you, that I may not be condemned before I anſwer for myſelf; for it remains no ſmall grief to my heart, that your Majeſty ſhould tell me I was mad, being moſt aſſured that your Majeſty's heart could not be ſo much hardened, if you heard not many more falſe tales againſt me than that. But if my importunities may offend, I beſeech you, lay the blame upon the extreme wrongs and miſeries I have endured, that have now lived three quarters of a year without any allowance for food to ſuffice nature. I have ten times (before and ſince my Lord Treaſurer's death) both ſent, written, and gone myſelf to my huſband, but can

neither ſpeak with him, nor be permitted to come within his doors; but only his ſervants anſwering me out of a window, that I muſt not come in.

My humble deſires are but theſe, that my cauſe may be heard, and my faults known; that if I have not truly deſerved thoſe ſcandals, wrongs, and infamies I have endured (which will ever remain upon me and my poſterity) I may have juſtice, and either to go home to my huſband, upon honourable terms, free from dangers, or elſe to have mine own poor fortunes, with ſuch further allowance as may maintain theſe honours, your Majeſty was the ground of, and God now hath caſt upon me, together with the ſecuring of my eſtate I brought, which (by a purchaſe of the late Lord Treaſurer's) ſtands endangered; and I have ſued to have redreſs thereof, and, as yet, have received no juſtice.

Your Majeſty promiſed to hear me; and the word of a king is juſt; and I will hold the ſame as an inheritance to my ſoul; for which I will yield my life, with all duties, humbly, at your Majeſty's feet,

AN. DORSET.*

* This letter ſeems to have been written by Anne Spencer, married firſt to Henry Lord Compton, afterwards to Robert Earl of Dorſet. Collins, in his pedigree of Sackville, calls her a lady of wit and ſpirit. This letter muſt have been written in 1608, the only year in which Robert was Earl.

SIR PATRICK YOUNG TO KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I DELIVERED this day your Majeſty's books, the one in Latin, and the other in Engliſh, with your Majeſty's arms upon them, to my Lord of York, as your Majeſty commanded me, who received the ſame with all humility, *flexis genibus deoſculando*, accounting this not the ſmalleſt benefit of ſo great and many he hath received from your Majeſty before; that your Majeſty's own books, dedicated by the author to moſt mighty monarchs, kings, and free princes only, and ſent to them by ſeveral meſſengers from your Majeſty, ſhould alſo be expreſsly ſent to him, your Majeſty's mean ſubject and orator, and ſo Βασιλικὸν δῶρον in deed, by one whoſe ſervice your Majeſty had uſed long ago to ſundry kings and princes over ſeas: he promiſeth he ſhall religiouſly keep them as the apple of his eye, ſo long as he liveth, and read them over and over again, as diligently, as they deſerve worthily, as well for the author's ſake as for the matter, *et tractandi modum inimitabilem:* and that he hath nothing to render to your Majeſty but moſt humble thanks, and ſuch ſervice as he is able to do, ſo long as he liveth, with his hearty prayers to God Almighty for your Majeſty's long and proſperous reign, whereunto I join mine from the

bottom of my heart; and ſo, in my Lord of York's name, and in my own, moſt humbly kiſſing your Majeſty's royal hands, I take my leave. From York this 19th of June, 1609, which was your Majeſty's moſt bleſſed birth-day 43 years ago. 'Quem diem nos hic celebravimus alacres, non 'ſine regio poculo in orbem, ut moris eſt, impi-'gre propinato atque exhauſto.'

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

faithful, and obedient oldeſt ſervant.*

SIR,

I have begged this incloſed from my Lord of York, which, albeit *in re tenui*, I thought not unworthy of your Majeſty's reading. 'Quod 'ad me attinet, in reditu, (ſi modo Deus mihi re-'dire conceſſerit) ſenectuti meae ingruenti tran-'quillum portum expecto, tum conjugi, liberis et 'familiae; ne perpetuo peregrinari, et incertis ſe-'dibus vagari cogar.'

---

* Sir Patrick Young of Auldbar, was employed, by King James, in various embaſſies beyond ſeas. He was the father of the celebrated PATRICIUS JUNIUS.

SIR THOMAS HAMILTON,

KING'S ADVOCATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

ACKNOWLEDGING myſelf bound, in duty, to render account to your Majeſty of the ſervices properly belonging and committed to my charge, I have taken the boldneſs to write of our progreſs in the forfeitures intented againſt the Lord Maxwell *, and the memory of Reſtalrig, before the Lords of Articles: our firſt proceeding was againſt the Lord Maxwell, wherein, albeit there were no compearance for the defender, yet ſome of the Lords of Articles kything [appearing] more ſcrupulous and preciſe in ſundry points of that proceſs nor [than] we did foreſee or ſuſpect, and hearing thereafter, that ſundry of that number had preconceived hard opinions of Reſtalrig's proceſs, the knowledge thereof, which wrought fear and miſtruſt in the minds of divers your Majeſty's well affected ſervants, did breed in the Earl of Dunbar ſuch care and fervency to remove theſe impediments, that bending his wits in more paſſionate

* For the ſlaughter of the laird of Johnſton, *R. Johnſton Rer. Brit. Hiſtor.* lib. xiv. p. 449.

manner nor [than] he uſed to expreſs in common and indifferent matters †, he did travel ſo earneſtly with the noblemen and whole remanent Lords of Articles, and ſolicited ſome of the moſt learned and beſt experimented of your Majeſty's council to furniſh reaſons and light to the clearing of the probation of that moſt heinous treaſon, and gave to myſelf ſo earneſt charge, and furniſhed ſo pregnant, judicious, and clear grounds to confirm the ſummons, and manifeſt the vive [lively] circumſtances thereof to the world, that he left no travel to me but the repetition of the ſubſtance of his information, to the which, having ſo nearly conformed my diſcourſe as poſſibly I could, it pleaſed God, that the Lords of the Articles being happily prepared by the depoſitions of divers honeſt men of the miniſtry, and other famous witneſſes, who recognoſcing unquhill [the deceaſed] Reſtalrig's hand-writ in his treaſonable miſſives [letters,] produced by me, with very ſenſible and forcible reaſons and cauſes of their conſtant and confident affirmation, that theſe miſſives were written by him; When the probation of the ſummons was referred

† The reader may perhaps be ſurprized to hear a prime miniſter commended to his maſter, for having *travelled earneſtly* with the judges, in order to convince them of the guilt of a perſon tried in effigy for treaſon. Dr. Robertſon, Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. ii. p. 223, has tranſcribed part of this letter. It is publiſhed here at full length, as it diſplays the notions of that age.

to the Lords votes, they found, uniformly, all in one voice, the ſaid ſummons to be ſo clearly proven, that they ſeemed to contend who ſhould be able, moſt zealouſly, to expreſs the ſatisfaction of his heart, not only by moſt pithy words, but by tears of joy; divers of the beſt rank, confeſſing, that that whereof they doubted, at their entry in the houſe, was now ſo manifeſt, that they behoved to eſteem them traitors who ſhould any longer refuſe to declare their aſſured reſolution of the truth of that treaſon. So hoping your Majeſty will graciouſly pardon my boldneſs, in offering to your Majeſty this rude relation of theſe purpoſes concerning my charge in your Majeſty's ſervice, I beſeech God, who has ſo mercifully preſerved your Majeſty, from the horrible devices of your deviliſh enemies, and ſo miraculouſly detected their helliſh practices, long to protect and preſerve your Majeſty from all harms and dangers, and to grant your Majeſty all happineſs and contentment. Edinr. this 21 Junii, 1609.

Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's

moſt bounden and faithful ſervant,

TH. HAMILTON.

RICHARD BANCROFT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

TO

KING JAME'S.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY,

I WAS very much grieved upon Friday, conſidering how it ſhould come to paſs, that your Majeſty was pleaſed to let fall ſome words, as if you ſuppoſed that your clergy were idle, eſpecially ſuch as have two benefices, becauſe I am perſuaded that there was never in this kingdom leſs cauſe to complain thereof; I would they had no juſter occaſion of complaint, that where is moſt preaching, there they find the leaſt fruit of their travels.

For the bill that is in hand againſt pluralities, it is the ſame, that, for above forty years, from parliament to parliament, hath been rejected; and that very worthily.

If, before it had been ſought to have tied every preacher to one benefice, it had been provided, that every benefice ſhould have been made a ſufficient living for a worthy preacher, the attempt

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* In this year, 1610, "Bancroft offered to the parliament a project for the better providing of a maintenance "to the clergy." *Biogr. Britan.* p. 468. [F] where the plan at large is inſerted from the *Paper-Office.*

had been allowable; ſo as the dignity of the miniſtry conſidered, (which Satan dare not impugn,) the ſufficiency of ſuch benefices might have been rated accordingly. But thereof I have ſome doubt, eſpecially ſith your poor miniſters are now in their hands, to have their portions limited, who, for the moſt part, will never think (we fear) themſelves to have enough, nor ceaſe to eſteem the little (God knows) that the clergy hath to be too much. It is true, that now there is a fair overture, of an earneſt deſire, to make every parſonage and vicarage in England a competent living for a learned preacher; but the iſſue thereof I do greatly ſuſpect, that it will only tend (through the undervaluing of learned mens deſerts) to the tying of particular preachers to one parſonage or vicarage of the better ſort, and ſo rather to deprive them all indeed of ſufficient living, than to make the leſſer benefices able to maintain men ſo qualified, as now it is with ſuch earneſtneſs deſired.

But God's will be done; we that are biſhops will do our beſt (as heretofore we have to our powers endeavoured) for the increaſing of a learned miniſtry; but we may never yield to any courſe that ſhall procure apparently their utter overthrow, as to expect that they ſhould ſtill make brick, without diminiſhing their taſk, when their ſtraw is with-held from them, and they ſhall be driven to gather ſtubble in the fields.

Beſides, we of the clergy do greatly wonder at the pretended zeal which firſt begat, and ſtill doth ſupport the ſaid bill; in that the ſtatute, which al-

loweth certain miniſters, (thereby qualified) to recover the tithes of two pariſhes, is held to be unlawful, and ſo conſequently neceſſary to be abrogated; whilſt another ſtatute (by force whereof many laymen do reap the tithes of two benefices) is paſt over with ſilence, as if there were no fault at all in it, but lawfully ought to be continued. If it be ſaid, that the law hath laid the care of ſouls in ſuch benefices (termed impropriation) upon Vicars and Curates, it may as truly be anſwered, that in like ſort the law tieth every miniſter that hath two benefices, to ſupply his abſence from that where he is not reſident, with a ſufficient miniſter his ſubſtitute: whereas two thouſand impropriations at the leaſt in England, I am well aſſured, are moſt miſerably ſerved by poor ſouls, that live in pitiful beggary, not having the hire of ordinary coachmen, or meaner ſervants in gentlemens houſes, to live upon. So as, for mine own part, I hold it a very unequal and ſcandalous project, to allow that laymen may ſtill receive the tithes of two benefices, and to provide, that hereafter it ſhall be unlawful for a godly miniſter ſo to do, conſidering, to whom, by God's ordinance, tithes ought to be paid. It ſeemeth therefore unto me, that, in the current of this great zeal, your Majeſty ſhall do a work worthy of your moſt religious wiſdom and circumſpection, if you would be pleaſed, of your goodneſs, for the trial of the ſaid pretended zeal, (which is often a maſk for many bad pretences,) to inſiſt upon the abrogating of the ſaid ſtatute for impropriations, whereby tithes are

paid to laymen, (for whom they were never appointed,) before you permit the courſe now held againſt the poor miniſters, to be too far proceeded in, except you do find any likelyhood, that every benefice in England, with cure, will be made a ſufficient living for a preacher; which I never expect, nor (I fear) will be yielded unto, without ſome attempt, either againſt cathedral churches, or for the diminiſhing your biſhops livings.

Moreover, upon the advantage of your Majeſty's great neceſſities at this time, I do foreſee, and partly already perceive, that many things will be preſſed upon your Majeſty, againſt the clergy, by the lower houſe of parliament, as hoping, now or never, to obtain that which divers of them, for many years, have aimed at. And that your Majeſty, for the gaining of your own ends towards your ſupply and ſupport, may be inclined to give more way unto them therein, than, I judge, may ſtand with the good continuance of that ſtate of this church, wherein you found it to be moſt royally upheld by the late Queen, (of moſt worthy memory,) and hath ſince been likewiſe maintained by your moſt excellent Majeſty accordingly, with a very great increaſe of many ſingular benefits, and moſt princely favours towards it. But myſelf, with the reſt of your Majeſty's biſhops, and the whole clergy, do ſo fully repoſe our truſt and aſſurance in your Majeſty's moſt royal and Chriſtian affection towards us, as we know that all the cunning and ſleight in the world, ſhall never be able to work your Highneſs, to the appro-

bation and allowance of any thing, that may either tend to our unjuſt reproach, or to the prejudice of religion, which hitherto hath more flouriſhed in England than in all the churches beſides of Chriſtendom; conſidering that all the plots and practices, at this time deſigned againſt us, may eaſily be met with by the obſervation of your own rules and directions, delivered ſo oft, this ſeſſion, to the lower houſe by the Lord Treaſurer. If we of the clergy have, in our proceedings, tranſgreſſed your Majeſty's laws, they may thereupon juſtly frame their grievances, and we are well content to anſwer unto them: but where your Majeſty's laws do ſupport us, and our doings, we can never doubt of your Majeſty's moſt royal and gracious aſſiſtance.

A bill rejected the two laſt ſeſſions of this parliament, having again paſſed the lower houſe, was, upon Saturday laſt, read, by the Lord Chancellor's appointment, to the upper houſe: the copy whereof I have preſumed here to incloſe. Your Majeſty, in peruſing of it, ſhall find it to ſtretch very far, neither regarding ſome ſtatutes yet in force, nor the authority either of your Majeſty's convocations, (repreſenting in former times the church of England,) or of your Highneſs, the chief and ſupreme governor of it. The laſt ſeſſion but one, ſundry of your biſhops, in a great committee, anſwered all thoſe reaſons that were then thought fit to be alledged for the paſſage of this bill. But all is one; reaſon or no reaſon, it forceth not; it is importunity, and opportunity, that

is relied upon; and we muſt again endure a new brunt to no purpoſe, except your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to prevent it; and I think it very neceſſary you ſhould ſo do, for the avoiding of public ſcandal, if your Majeſty's ſupremacy ſhould now again be called in queſtion, as of neceſſity it muſt be, if the authors of this bill do ſtand to the juſtification of it againſt us. I moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty to pardon this my boldneſs: *ſacerdotis vox debet eſſe libera:* and I could not but condemn myſelf, being Archbiſhop of Canterbury, if I ſhould not, with all my ſtrength, and for the preventing of future miſchiefs, ſtand up in the gap, which is ſought to be made in the very form and frame of the church, and likewiſe plead in the beſt ſort I am able, before ſo mighty, ſo learned, ſo provident, ſo religious, and ſo wiſe a king, for ſo well a ſettled and worthy form of religion, and for ſo godly, ſo learned, and ſo painful a clergy, whom your Majeſty ſhall ever have at your commandment, moſt loyal, moſt faithful ſubjects, and always, in their divine meditations and prayers, your daily orators. Almighty God long bleſs and protect your Majeſty from the malice and wicked attempts of all your enemies, granting you long life, a comfortable reign, and all other his heavenly bleſſings, both here upon earth, and hereafter in his glorious kingdom for ever. At Lambeth, this 14th of May, 1610.

Your Majeſty's moſt bounden,
and dutiful Chaplain,
R. CANT.

FOLLOWS A COPY OF THE BILL MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

* AN ACT RESTRAINING THE EXECUTION OF CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL, NOT CONFIRMED BY PARLIAMENT, READ IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, MAY 12. 1610.

FORASMUCH as divers inconveniencies have grown and happened to your Majeſty's ſubjects of this realm of England, by the multiplicity of canons, conſtitutions, and ordinances eccleſiaſtical, heretofore made; whereof ſundry, varying from the common laws and ſtatutes of this your Highneſs's realm, have already grown, and are likely daily to grow more grievous and burdenſome to your Majeſty's ſubjects, unleſs ſome reſtraint and proviſion be made to the contrary; may it therefore pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by your moſt excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame: That no canon, conſtitution, or ordinance

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* This may ſerve to ſupply a ſmall omiſſion of Mr. Hume's, in his hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 37. where he ſays, "in this ſeſſion, 1610, the Commons *contented* "themſelves with remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of "the *High Commiſſion Court*."

eccleſiaſtical, heretofore made, conſtituted, or ordained, within the ſpace of ten years laſt paſt, or hereafter to be made, conſtituted or ordained, ſhall be of any force or effect, by any means whatſoever, to impeach or hurt any perſon or perſons in his or their life, liberty, lands, or goods, until the ſame be firſt confirmed by act of parliament, any law, cuſtom, ordinance, or thing to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Ext. p. Ro. Bowyer, *Cler. Parl.*

RICHARD BANCROFT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

TO

KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELL. MAJESTY,

WE the biſhops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, being aſſembled, by your Majeſty's authority, in convocation, conſidering your Majeſty's moſt princely favour towards us, and your preſent wants, notwithſtanding there is one old ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound behind unpaid, have very willingly, readily, and with one conſent, granted to your Majeſty a new ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, and ſo have ordered the payment of it with the former, as they may be both in your exchequer within one year and an half. By antient cuſtom, we your ſaid biſhops, with a ſelected number of the lower houſe of convocation, were to have preſented this our grant unto your moſt excellent Majeſty, and to have beſeeched you to accept the ſame in good part, as a ſmaller teſtimony of our duty and affection towards you, than your Majeſty's goodneſs towards us hath many ways deſerved. But now, by reaſon of your Majeſty's abſence, and through the indiſpoſition of my own body, not daring as yet to undertake ſo long a journey, I have preſumed, with the advice of my Lord Treaſurer, to ſend

our ſaid grant to your Majeſty by Sir Thomas Lake, not doubting, but that, of your princely clemency, you will take this diſorderly offering of it in good part; and, by a word or two, either from yourſelf, or in your name, by Sir Thomas Lake, ſignify unto me, to be delivered to our convocation, your Majeſty's good acceptance of it; ſo as the ſame, together with the grant itſelf, may be ſent back again to-morrow in the morning betimes, that it may be exhibited to the lower houſe, and perhaps read beforenoon. Almighty God preſerve your moſt excellent Majeſty from the malice of all your enemies, and bleſs you with a long life, granting you many more quiet parliaments, and all other comforts in this world, and for ever hereafter, through our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. At Lambeth, this 16th of July, 1610.

Your Majeſty's moſt bounden,

and loyal Chaplain,

R. CANT.*

* This offer of a ſubſidy was no injudicious method of enforcing the arguments uſed by the Archbiſhop in his letter of the 14th of May, 1610.

LETTER FROM SCOTLAND TO KING JAMES. †

MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

HOWEVER, there can be no diſtruſt at all of the infinite, rare, and undoubted loyalty of your Highneſſes worthy counſellors, and ſubjects, daily reſident about your ſacred perſon, in foreſeeing, and preventing, ſo far as may come within the compaſs of mens wit, all imminent dangers, which probably might enſue, unto that head, of which all of us be but members, lifeleſs indeed, and moſt unhappy without your preſervation, otherwiſe moſt bleſſed in the continuance of your government; yet our heart-burning affection, and love to your ſacred perſon, upon juſt occaſion, doth urge us, thus boldly, to preſume in making entreaty to your Majeſty for that which we in our weak judgments do propone, and yet do fear to allow, untill ſuch time as it ſhall abide the touch-ſtone, humbly beſeeching, as we do fully expect

† From a copy found among the papers of the Lord Balfour of Burlie, which the honourable Mrs. Margaret Balfour politely communicated to the Editor. It is not certain whether this letter was ſent from the Privy Council, or the Parliament of Scotland; it is moſt probable, from the Privy Council.

from that ſuperabundant fountain of all clemency, a good conſtruction of our dutiful meaning, with a full pardon of all ſuch errors which may be incident in the delivery of this our advice. And being with ourſelves inquiet in mind, until ſuch time as we ſhould make your Majeſty acquainted with our jealouſy and fear conceived, not able to be ſo well expreſſed by letter, as we hope ſhall be by mouth imparted: We thereupon have deſired your Majeſty's right truſty and well beloved counſellor, the Lord Balfour of Burlie, one of our number, with convenient ſpeed, to addreſs himſelf thither, whom we do expect your Highneſs will credit and truſt.

This late tragical, villainous, and treacherous murder of the French King, moſt vilely committed by a moſt miſerable cative, being his own ſubject, as we do hear, may juſtly move us, however abſent, yet no whit leſs dutifully affected than thoſe who be preſent, to meditate and conſider of that wretchedneſs which may befall us in the wanting of him, without whom we neither can nor do wiſh to live. And however juſt reſpects hath occaſioned your Majeſty's abſence from hence, theſe years paſt, and hath made your ſtay and reſidence to be there, yet the river of milk and honey, juſtice and mercy, coming from that well-ſpring of your Majeſty's moſt rare and ſingular wiſdom, and prudent directions, from time to time, ſent down hither, hath ſo overflowed in theſe parts, that we may juſtly now boaſt, what no former age, for a long ſpace, did ever ſcarcely af-

ford, that now every one may peaceably dwell under his own fig-tree. And as we cannot but herein be ſenſible of this our happineſs, and moſt ingrate, both to God and your Majeſty, if we ſhould not acknowledge his only inſtrument hereof on earth; ſo the leaſt fear and jealouſy, conceived of the loſs of ſuch a jewel, ſhould move the uſufructuary of the moſt happy and virtuous qualities of it, to omit no means whereby he might be ſufficiently ſecured from being robbed of it. And we having now heard by report, and thereupon juſtly fearing, there being too much cauſe in ſuch a caſe, in regard both of the many former, and this late precedent, the hazard of that ſacred and anointed perſon, by whom we live, and in whom we are moſt happy, and that there ſhould be ſome aſſaſſins appointed for executing this direction, having, as it is informed, taken the ſacraments, the inſtitution of which, God knows, was to ſome other end: We cannot but be much diſmayed, and driven into a juſt fear thereby, to ſee theſe laſt frogs, foretold in the Apocalyps, thus ſent out by the devil, and his ſupports on earth, to execute their helliſh directions upon God's own lieutenants; which damnable perſons may think perhaps no time or occaſion more probable, and likely for atchieving of ſuch a villainy, than when your Majeſty ſhall be at game abroad; at which time every one almoſt, albeit unknown, have heretofore been accuſtomed, upon pretence of ſeeing of the ſport, to have more acceſs near your ſacred perſon than was expedient, which form can-

not hereafter continue without too much likely-hood of danger and peril: and in ſo far, as your Majeſty's guard are moſt of them unfit for any ſuch purpoſe, and that in the time of your Highneſs progreſs, the penſioners have not been much accuſtomed to attend, we could therefore wiſh, that ſome ſhould be eſpecially deſigned for this intent only, and to be exeemed from all other ſervice, or attendance, other than their waiting upon your Majeſty's perſon in the time of your being abroad, at hunting, hawking, or any other paſtime or game in the fields, who being to the number of ſome twenty gentlemen, under the commandment and charge of that worthy nobleman the Captain of your Majeſty's guard, may be ever ſtill attending your perſon, ſtopping and debaring all men from acceſs, or coming in any ſort near to your Majeſty, enduring your Highneſs being abroad, except noblemen, your Majeſty's own known ſervants, and ſuch others as it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to call upon. And if it be your Highneſſes pleaſure to like of theſe our country people, either for whole or half number, upon ſignification of your Majeſty's pleaſure to the Captain of the guard, a ſpecial choice ſhall be made of fit perſons to attend that charge, who ſhall no way be burthenſom to that ſtate. And herein we do perſuade ourſelves, that your Majeſty's moſt grave, honourable, and wiſe Council there will be ſo far from diſliking our motion, having thus proceeded out of mere duty and affection to our conjunct maſter, who is the happineſs of all of us, as,

without doubt, the ſame will rather move in them an earneſt zeal to concur, and, in a friendly ſort, to contend in this duty with us. And ſince we do know it to be moſt neceſſary and expedient, that your Majeſty, for the preſervation of your health, ſhould continue your frequent exerciſes abroad, the deſerting whereof could not be without the hazard and danger of enſuing infirmity and ſickneſs, we would therefore wiſh, and do thus boldly preſume to offer our advice, for a likely means of your Majeſty's greater ſafety; albeit we do know, that he who holdeth the bridle, in the devils mouth, ſhall never give ſo much looſeneſs to the reins, as that he ſhall be, in any ſort, able to harm him who is the chief and greateſt protector, and nuris-father, [nurſing-father,] of God's church at this preſent upon earth; and albeit God's only help, in this caſe, is moſt to be truſted unto, and relied upon, yet ought no lawful means in a man's power be omitted. So praying the Almighty God, for the ſurety and preſervation of his own anointed, and for your Majeſty's long and proſperous reign over us, we reſt, &c.

FROM A PERSON UNKNOWN.†

MOST HONOURABLE AND MOST DEAR SISTER,

I HAVE been long ſilent, being deſirous to tell you good news, and not the troubles which I have accompliſhed, and the authors and malice which were the maintainers and cauſers of them, with ſuffering, patience and conſtancy, and a good cauſe; and now that I am entering again in a cauſe of reputation, and, I hope, benefit, I am to you as I am and ever will be. I am now at Granada taking proviſion of a rent of 3000 crowns by year, which the King hath given me, beſide as much more in Naples, and am preſently returning to court to faſten upon my employment. In the mean time, becauſe my true love unto you can ſuffer no delay in counſelling of you, and adviſing of you of what ſhall be honourable and commodious to you and yours, I ſend you this paper, which I deſire you, by all the love you bear me, and I have given you, to act the contents of, if things ſucceed where you are, as they are deſired and hoped for here. The King of Spain deſigns to marry the Princeſs of England, and in reaſon

† This curious paper is tranſcribed from an incorrect copy in the Advocates Library. It relates to a fact ſcarcely mentioned by hiſtorians, and may ſerve to ſhew the reſtleſs intriguing ſpirit of the Engliſh Roman Catholics in that age.

of *State* his intention will be *favourably conſidered* in England, if the King wiſh the advancement of his daughter, and embrace the intereſt of his eſtate. If, I ſay, it be concluded, by any means ſend any of my nieces to court here, and my boy Anthony, and rely upon me for the care of them both; and your good prayers and bleſſing ſhall be all which you ſhall need to think of more for them. Me, I know, you will recommend to the Princeſs, and though ſhe knew me not here I ſhall be able to ſerve her, and will ſerve her faithfully; Siſter, tho' the buſineſs, in all wiſe reaſon, ſhould carry itſelf, yet there are certain dogs which bark *at it*, not for that they have cauſe, but becauſe it is their cuſtom. And I know you are wiſe, and can do good offices if you like, and doing them you ſhall bind unto you, by them, great princes. And ſo, my moſt dear ſiſter, with my moſt well love to you, and my honourable brother, and all yours, and my humble duty to my moſt worthy lady, I commit you all to God's protection. From Granada, this 3d of April, 1612.

Your brother, which loves you as himſelf.

MY MOST DEAR SISTER,

I give you a few reaſons, though I know you are wiſe enough to make moe, yet becauſe the whole controverſy will go upon theſe points, or ſuch like, I have ſent you theſe, and you can amplify them with ſome diſcretion.

1. The King of Spain is a Catholic, with what

conſcience can the King of England marry his daughter unto him?

Then with what conſcience can the King of Spain marry her? ſince all religions are grounded (as they think which profeſs them) upon conſcience, either true or imaginary conſcience, or any other thing, which, under the name of conſcience, is opinion:—But not to diſpute upon a point of canon law, but to ſpeak morally. Princes ordinarily carry the point of conſcience upon a *plain field* of intereſt, and the King of England's intereſt is much greater, in this marriage, than the intereſt of the King of Spain.

Firſt, For the honour and advancement of his daughter; for to whom can he hope to marry her? To a drunken German; and though he carry the name of a prince, yet he is ſubject to the Empire. Great difference between him, and ſuch as him, and the greateſt marriage in the world; or if he hope or be deſired by any other, who can be the other? Some ſay, ſome poor prince, as the Duke of Savoy, or ſuch like, whom the King muſt maintain and ſuſtain with his daughter.

Secondly, The honour of himſelf, to have a ſon in law greater than himſelf.

Thirdly, The honour of his eſtate, that the greateſt marriage of the world, deſired and ſought by all the world, ſeeketh and deſireth to marry in his eſtate, and with his daughter, who *is deſerving* before all other.

Then if there ſhould happen occaſion to the King to uſe friends, who they of that ability?

Then if the King ſhould have commotion in his own eſtates, it is certain the movers of them muſt have hopes, and the motion muſt have a means to ſuſtain itſelf, no prince nor potentate in the world is of ability to give hope nor eſtate but Spain. By this marriage all this ſecured.

II. But ſome idle brains will ſay, that he hath married his ſiſter unto France, our enemies, and fortifieth France againſt our pretenſions, and what intereſt ſhall we have by this marriage?

The intereſt is ſhewed, the marriage of France is a trifle; not to go to examples, I will end with reaſon. The Infanta of Spain is a child, and the King of France is the like, neither of both can have neither ——— nor the authority, nor the pretenſion of England to France any ſpeedy reſolution. In the mean time, the Princeſs is a woman grown, and an excellent woman, both in beauty of body and mind, and is likely to poſſeſs the King; ſo that for the preſent we are ſure of him for our commodities, and for the future not unſure; ſince we ſee daily, that wife ſtep-mothers make their husbands forget the children by the firſt wife.

III. But they will ſay, that the King of Spain is a widower, and the ſon by her ſhall be but a ſubject.

Yet is it better for her that he is a widower, and the better for England.

For her, ſince he knoweth how to be a husband; and having had a wife of infinite goodneſs, but of ſmall beauty, and loving her and honour-

ing her as he did, it is doubtleſs he will honour and love her much more, which hath beauty and goodneſs.

For England it is better, ſince all ſucceſſions are uncertain, God giveth and God taketh. If the King of Spain had no ſucceſſion, it might be that England would fall to Spain; now if he have a ſon, and God ſhould curſe the land ſo much, it falleth to her ſon.

IV. But her ſon ſhall only be a ſubject, if ſuch an accident happen not; which God forbid.

The King of Spain hath many kingdoms, and power to ſet over, neither are his kingdoms entailed, like particular lands, he may diſpoſe of them as he likes. And you never ſaw nor heard but that the ſecond marriages were more dear than the firſt; and if there be danger, it is then to the firſt children, not to the ſecond.

V. But the King of Spain will have liberty of conſcience in England.

Surely a great point. Let us ſee to whom or for whom it is good. Now the King of England feareth his ſubjects, where-through that fear moleſteth them and himſelf, if he grant them what they deſire, entreat obligation, and ſo this ended. If they would be ill, having no helper, it cannot be ill; ſo that this point maketh for the King, to have his ſubjects love him, or otherwiſe to be without fear or jealouſy, ſince they will never move (bound by obligation) nor attempt, being deprived of all hope of ſucceſſion.

VI. But the King will loſe by this match his

friends in Germany, which are of the ſelf-ſame religion.

A fair point: What prince loveth one another but for intereſt, and which is better for the King of England to be aſſured of one prince of power, than to be in hope of many without power, when he hath more authority either to do them good or harm, than he ſhall have more true aſſurance of them.

VII. But the Catholics of England, when they are aſſured of ſo mighty a ſucceſſion, will make an end of the King and his ſons, as they have attempted, not having ſuch a ſupporter.

Firſt, It is a queſtion and almoſt an undoubted truth, that Catholics never attempt againſt Kings nor eſtate. Then if they had, through a ſtrong motive of neceſſity, having no more neceſſity they will attempt no more; then if they had a hope in foreign help, that hope is taken from them by this great combination. Then the King hath two ſons, bring them up aſunder, and if there ſhould be a deviliſh device by wicked men, the one will be the revenger of the death of the other.

Thoſe points I ſend you briefly as the moſt weighty, tho' there be no point weighty againſt ſo great a benefit for the King and his eſtate. You will uſe them wiſely. And beſides, dear Siſter, in England many ſpend, and few have wherewithal; from hence are certain hopes for all which are worthy.

Neither be you diſanimated by my brother, who loſt a great buſineſs becauſe he knew not how to carry it.

If you find ways open or difficult, it will —— little to ſpeak with the Spaniſh ambaſſador.

I am exceeding ſorry that my Lady Arbella's precipitation hurt herſelf, and depriveth you of a great help in this buſineſs. But becauſe I know you neither want will, diligence, nor friends, theſe points, which is in your power, I commit to yourſelf. And I will pray to God, to help, guide and aſſiſt you in thoſe which are out of your power.

KING JAMES

TO

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED FOR ENQUIRING INTO THE CONDUCT OF LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL BELOVED COUSIN AND COUNSELLOR, AND TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLORS, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEREAS the Lord Burlie being in this our kingdom, and challenged of ſome miſdemeanour, and evil beſeeming ſpeeches uttered at the laſt parliament, did deny the ſame, yet after ſuch a manner as gave us no ſatisfaction. And becauſe the very truth of the matter can no where elſe ſo well be tried as where it was committed, and that we will not condemn any man unheard, we have therefore thought good to direct this our commiſſion unto you, amongſt whom we have not nominated any of the nobility, ſaving our Chancellor, as being fitter witneſſes than judges in this matter, willing you to examine the ſaid Lord Burlie, and to try whèrein he anſwereth truly, and wherein otherwiſe; and to return unto us, with all expedition, his anſwer, together with your own cenſúre thereof, to theſe two articles following.

Firſt, That being conveened with the reſt of the noblemen, upon the firſt day of the parliament, who were, according to the cuſtom, to make election of eight Lords of Articles out of the ſpirituality, he ſhould have made an harangue unto them, exhorting the nobility to keep their antient

privileges, and not to loſe any of them under the title of the King's prerogative, by electing theſe of the ſpirituality for Lords of the Articles, whom the ſecretary, in our name, gave in a roll unto them.*

Secondly, That at their extraordinary meeting with the nobility, had amongſt themſelves, for adviſing how to reſiſt to that ſubſidy, which was already paſt by the Lords of the Articles, he ſhould have ſtood up, and, after a bold manner, affirmed, that it was he who ſpake laſt with the King, of any of that number, and that he would avow, that the King told him that he would have no greater ſubſidy, for the marriage of his daughter, than ten thouſand pounds Sterling; aſking, very audaciouſly, who durſt ſay the contrary.

Yet do we not affirm, that he uttered the very ſelf-ſame words; for neither could we hear himſelf ſpeak them, nor have talked with any who heard him, but ye are to try if the ſum of his ſpeeches tended to this ſenſe. And theſe premiſes recommending to your ſpecial diligence, as theſe preſents ſhall be unto you a ſufficient warrant, we commend you to God. [1613.]

* The learned author of *Eſſays concerning Britiſh Antiquities* obſerves, p. 53, that "the biſhops were univerſally in the intereſt of the crown, *as they have been at all times, and upon all occaſions*; and as the whole biſhops were for the crown, it was indifferent which eight were choſen." However this charge againſt Lord Burlie, ſhews, that in 1612, King James thought otherwiſe, and that a court liſt of biſhops was judged neceſſary.

THE DEFENCE MADE BY LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE.

FIRST QUESTION.

WHEREAS it is alledged, that I ſhould have made an harangue, exhorting the nobility to keep their antient privileges, and not to loſe any of them, under the title of the King's prerogative.

ANSWER.

I made no harangue, neither did I exhort the nobility to keep their antient privileges. Only when my opinion was craved, theſe were the ſpeeches uttered by me, for diſcharge of that which I owe to the ſtate: "If his Majeſty were to live amongſt "us continually, then do I think that any ſubject "might concredit to put his eſtate in his gracious "hands; but ſince, in another age, we ſhall have "a framd [foreign] King, unknown to our land, "&c. I do think, according to my judgment, that "for preſerving to us all the marks of a free mo-"narchy (ſo far as we can) that the Lords of Ar-"ticles ſhould be choſen by election and voting, "always deſiring theſe ſelf [ſame] to be choſen "nominated by his Majeſty, one or two being on-"ly changed for keeping our privilege."

SECOND QUESTION.

At that extraordinary meeting which the nobility had among themſelves, for adviſing how to reſiſt to that ſubſidy, already paſt by the Lords of

the Articles, that I ſhould have ſtood up, and, in a bold manner, affirmed, that the King told me that he would have no greater ſubſidy for his daughter's marriage nor [than] 10000 l. Sterling; and that I aſked, very audaciouſly, who durſt ſay the contrary.

ANSWER.

I will affirm, that the nobility met not to adviſe how to reſiſt the ſubſidy, already granted by the Lords of the Articles; but our meeting was to determine, how his Majeſty ſhould have a ſubſidy, and ſuch a one as might give his Majeſty ſatisfaction; for it is more nor [than] manifeſt, that the form of the procuring this ſubſidy was ſo prejudicial to his Majeſty's honour and prerogative, and it was thought to be ſo hurtful to his Majeſty's poor ſubjects, the rich ones getting immunity by annulling the act of parliament againſt uſurers*, that, on the laſt day of voting, this ſame would have been recalled, if not ſome of us who tendered ſo dearly his Majeſty's reputation, in reſpect our parliament was ſo exemplary to our neighbour country, did uſe our beſt endeavours to mitigate the matter; and to bring the matter to better conformity, I only repeated truly his Majeſty's ſpeeches, which were, that 10000 l. was the leaſt that he could crave of us, for our part of that portion which was to be given to his daughter.

I am moſt confident, that no ſubject within this iſle will ſay, that, audaciouſly, I ſhould have ſaid,

* 9 Act. 21 Parl. Jam. VI. 1612.

" who durſt ſay but ten thouſand pounds would " content his Majeſty;" and if any ſubject breathing dare affirm the ſame, I do ſubſcribe that which I have written, that he lieth, &c. †

† It appears from a petition by Lord Burlie to the King, that Spotiſwood, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, was the accuſer on this occaſion. Lord Burlie's words are, " now " ſeeing that the Biſhop of Glaſgow doth ſtill perſiſt in " the proſecution and probation of this calumny againſt " me, my humble ſuit, to your moſt gracious Majeſty, is, " that you will be pleaſed to command the Biſhop of Glaſ- " gow to ſet down, on paper, all theſe particulars alledged " againſt me, ſubſcribed with his hand, and I ſhall anſwer " them under mine; then ſhall your Majeſty better judge " both of the probabilities and probation of the matter.— " I would likewiſe humbly intreat your Majeſty's favour, " when I have cleared myſelf of theſe unjuſt imputations, " that I may, without offence, lay before your Majeſty, " and the world, the particular miſdemeanours of the Bi- " ſhop of Glaſgow, which being truly known to your Ma- " jeſty, I think, you ſhall find him not worthy that truſt " he has of your Majeſty, and moſt unfitting for the place " and dignity he hath in your ſtate."

The reader will compare this with what Spotiſwood ſays, Hiſtory, B. vii. p. 519.

The Editor takes this opportunity of correcting an error committed by Mr. Keith, both in his hiſtory of the reformation in Scotland, and in his Catalogue of Scottiſh Biſhops, he aſſerts, " that great freedoms have been uſed in " publiſhing" Spotiſwood's work; he even points out certain interpolations in one of the MSs. But the truth is, that

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLIE TO SIR JAMES BALFOUR.

BROTHER,

IN my former, of the 22d of this inſtant, I wrote a little of theſe unexpected drifts and delays which I had of the Lord of Scone; now I will ſet down particularly the progreſs of all that paſt among us. My brother, Sir Harry, wrote to me, how the Lord of Scone reported to our gracious ſovereign the King, his moſt ſacred Majeſty, that I ſhould have ſaid at our rencounter, while he was going to court and I returning, that all which was done to me was done for an ſhew, and that I had my Lord of Rocheſter his promiſe to be repoſſeſſed to my place in council, after I had ſtaid an little in Ireland. That I ſhould have ſaid that matters were done for an ſhew: the Lord of Scone deponed, that he never heard it, neither did I ever utter any ſuch word; but I did ſay, that when I was in Ireland I looked that my honourable friend, my Lord of Rocheſter, would interpone his cre-

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thoſe interpolations are corrections of the hand writing of Spotiſwood himſelf; and the error of Mr. Keith is the more ſtrange, as the MS. which he endeavours to depreciate, was his own property, and as it contains the firſt draught of ſome part of the hiſtory in the hand writing of Spotiſwood.

dit, with his Majeſty, to get me repoſſeſſed to my place in council, and that I expected all other friendly offices at his hands.

Brother, I pray you mark the difference of a promiſe to be repoſſeſſed, or to interpoſe his Lordſhip's credit to deal for my repoſſeſſion; for I muſt confeſs to you, that I never concealed from any how I was moſt confident of my Lord of Rocheſter his favour, and that he would do for me as for his friend and kinſman.

At my firſt rencounter with the Lord of Scone, I urged, in fair terms, to get his depoſition under his hand, what were the words that paſt betwixt him and me, which willingly he granted to do; and he affirmed, that no man durſt ſay his words were any other, but that I hoped my Lord of Rocheſter would interpone his credit to do for me. Always he ſaid, the Biſhop of Glaſgow repeated theſe ſpeeches a little too liberally, in his preſence, to his Majeſty; but that he did contrary the Biſhop, when his Majeſty aſked of him if I had ſaid ſo. I was kept daily in expectation, for the ſpace of twenty days, to have the truth of this matter ſigned by the Lord of Scone's own hand. At laſt, I found his drift to be, that he would firſt adviſe with ſome friends in Edinburgh, before he would ſubſcribe any thing. Wherefore, on Tueſday the 25th of May, I followed him thither, and urged him, in Balvaird's preſence, who was ever privy to all that paſt among us, that he would ſet down, under his hand, theſe ſpeeches paſt betwixt him and me; he anſwered, that firſt he behoved to

have an author. I told him, that my brother, Sir Harry, had written ſo to me, at my Lord of Rocheſter his command, to whom I did owe ſo much, that I would ſpare for no ſubjects reſpect to clear myſelf, for giving his Lordſhip ſatisfaction: then the Lord of Scone told me, that Sir Harry was not ſufficient to be a warrant to him; becauſe he would have had another of better quality, as I think, to have dealt with; for he ſaid, that he could command fourſcore as good as Sir Harry to anſwer him. I muſt confeſs, theſe ſpeeches, together with his former delays, did irritate me much; ſo I willed him to go with me preſently to the fields, and to carry a gentleman of worth with him, to bear witneſs what ſhould paſs among us, and I would both juſtify that my brother, Sir Harry, his ſpeeches were written upon good warrand; as alſo, I would make him ſet down, under his hand, ſo much as would clear me of theſe and other his calumnies ſuggeſted to my prejudice.

He refuſed plainly to go with me; ſo I told him, that he would move me to take another courſe, much more prejudicial to his credit: wherefore, immediately after my returning to my chamber, I wrote to him, that his ſhifts were more proper to a poltroon, than to a man of quality and honour, and therefore I affirmed, that as his ſpeeches were falſe, which he had ſaid of me, ſo himſelf was a liar, &c. I had no ſooner directed this letter, but within half an hour thereafter I was ſent for by the council, and am warded in my houſe, under the pain of twenty thouſand merks, till I find cau-

tion to keep the King's peace. How they came ſo ſuddenly to the knowledge of things I refer it to your conſideration.

In the mean time, I pray you to deal with my honourable friend, my Lord of Rocheſter, that the malice of my unfriends may not make new ſiniſtrous informations to irritate his Majeſty further againſt me: always if his Lordſhip be ſatisfied with my comportment, I care not any further trouble that can fall to me; for I will never ceaſe to the ſpending of the laſt drop of blood in my body, till his Lordſhip be fully ſatisfied, as I will, in any other ſervice, alſo hazard my life, without ſpeiring [aſking] his Lordſhip's quarrel. My greateſt regret now is, that I ſhould have had to do with an *indigne*. So leaving to be further troubleſome at this preſent, after my loving commendations,

I remain

Your moſt loving Brother.†

Edinburgh, 26th May,
1613.

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† There is a very imperfect relation of this affair in Spotiſwood's Hiſtory. B. vii. p. 519.

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON*

TO

MR. JOHN MURRAY OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

THE laſt act before my departure, worthy Mr. Murray, is my requeſt to yourſelf, to kiſs the ſacred hands of my royal Maſter, and only let him know, that I have performed all my walks, with prayers for the long and happy preſervation of his Majeſty, not doubting whatſoever become of me, thoſe proſperous events will ſpring up in all quick-ſets, that are fenced with love and loyalty.

For my own part, as I never altered my compaſs, ſo, beginning his loyal ſervant, I die his faithful beadſman, adding this only petition to the reſt to God, that, as among Kings he hath created him the beſt, ſo in the ſame rank he will crown him the happieſt.

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* Lord Henry Howard, of the houſe of Norfolk, created Earl of Northampton by King James. He died in the year 1614. There is a lively and juſt character of this remarkable perſonage in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of royal and noble authors. Article, NORTHAMPTON. This letter, written with a trembling hand, is, probably, the laſt of his compoſition, and may ſerve to ſhew, that he died, as he had lived, a pedant and a flatterer.

I am extremely full of pain, and holding the time long till I be at my journey's end, I leave myſelf to the demonſtrations of your true love, and will be ever found,

Your affectionate,

and conſtant friend.

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Wedneſday at Ten.

NOTES FROM THE AWARD PRONOUNCED BY KING JAMES IN THE REFERENCE MADE TO HIM BY WILLIAM CRICHTON, NATURAL SON OF THE LORD CRICHTON OF SANQUHAR, DECEASED, AND WILLIAM CRICHTON OF RYHILL, CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION OF THE SAID LORD CRICHTON, 2d May, 1614.†

IT is the like difference betwixt an unlawful colluſion and a lawful concurrence of friends to a good end, as is betwixt the unlawful practices and conſultations of traiterous and mutinous ſubjects againſt the perſon or ſtate of their lawful King, and betwixt the concurrence and conſulting of a King's ſworn counſellors, for adviſing upon the furtherance of their King's ſervice; otherways any ſuch as, before our coming to this crown, concurred and conſulted upon the means for the ſafe enthroning of us here, after the death of the late Queen, of famous memory, might be accuſed of making of colluſion with us.

—We muſt reſort to that undoubted principle which deſtroys equivocation, a peſt wherewith the Roman church has now infected the whole Chriſtian world, the principle is this, that in all bar-

† Communicated by Mr. John Davidſon, Clerk to the King's Signet in Scotland.

gains, contracts, or oaths, the true interpretation of them is to be taken according to the intention of the party by whom they are made.

Notwithstanding the said assignation, made to the said son natural, be all written with the said unquhil [deceased] Lord his own hand, (which in that part doth satisfy the clause of the contract) yet the said assignation cannot be available to the said son natural, as being a person not capable to enjoy the same, except in so far as he is made capable by our rehabilitation; the true meaning whereof must be taken from us, since *ejus est interpretari cujus est condere;* but we assure ourselves that no honest man will ever think so unworthy of us, as that ever we would willingly and wittingly, by any deed of ours, have preferred a base son, born a stranger, to the righteous heir male of so antient an house; for our intention, in granting the rehabilitation, was only, that, according to that usual grace which we daily shew to others, the said Lord his natural son might be thereby made capable to receive, and leave to his posterity, such possessions as the said late Lord might, by his money or other lawful means, purchase unto him, without defrauding any other man of his natural and lawful birth-right; for rehabilitations or graces ought never to be extended or interpreted to the hurt of a third person, since it cannot be properly called a grace towards one, when it tends as much to the hurt of another. We will not here discourse (as being a needless thing) how far Kings may or use to extend the rehabilitation of ba-

ſtards, in making them capable to bear the ſirname, and full name, of that houſe from which they are deſcended; but we are ſure it never was our meaning ſo to rehabilitate the ſon natural of the ſaid late Lord Sanquhar, as thereby to make him his full ſucceſſor; beſides, that in our ſaid rehabilitation, we have in noways given him the full arms of the Crichtons, neither will any man alledge that ever ſuch a ſuit was moved unto us. And how averſe we have ever been, by our own inclination, from ſuch unlawful preferring of baſtards, our *Baſilicon Doron* will bear witneſs.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF EDMOND PEACHAM CLERK, TAKEN BEFORE THE LORDS AT THE TOWER, JANUARY 14th, 1614.*

THE examinate being demanded, how he came to the knowledge of these particularities, which he hath set down, touching the King and the state; as the King's gifts for dances, banquets, dogs, &c? he answereth, that he knoweth them no otherwise, but by his own observation and imagination; and the application of it was made out of the example of Herod.

Being asked with whom he hath conferred, or what information he hath from others, by word, message, or writing, of those slanderous things set down in his papers, or any of them? he answereth, that no person whatsoever, did either, by word, message, or writing, inform him of any of those things; and that he never had any conference with any man touching any of them, neither did ever make any of these known to any person.

EDMUND PEACHAM.

G. CANT. RAPHE WINWOOD.
T. ELLESMERE Canc. FULKE GREVILLE.
T. SUFFOLKE. E. COKE.
E. WORCESTER. JUL. CAESAR.
FENTON.

* This is transcribed from a copy in the Advocates Library, and is inserted on account of its connection with what follows.

PART OF A LETTER FROM SIR RALPH WINWOOD TO A LORD, ABOUT K. JAMES'S PERSON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

ON Saturday laſt, in the afternoon, the lords, appointed by his Majeſty to examine Peacham in the Tower, aſſembled there about two of the clock. A copy of the examinations I ſend herewith, which your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to impart to his Majeſty. I find not the man to be, as was related, ſtupid or dull, but to be full of malice and craft. On Sunday, I preſſed the Lords, being in council, to adviſe and reſolve for the further proceeding againſt this delinquent. The Lord Chancellor, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, was abſent from the council. The term now approaching, which on Monday next doth begin, the Lords do hold it moſt convenient for his Majeſty's ſervice, that the judges, upon their arrival to this town, ſhould aſſemble together to every bench. A copy of Peacham's book, authentically collationed, is to be delivered; upon their reſolution, which they will not deliver without adviſed deliberation, the Lords will, with reſpectful care, proceed, as in duty ſhall become them, for the honour of his Majeſty.

This I find, that the judges declaring this impious fact to be treaſon, the cauſe cannot be tried before the end of Eaſter term, &c.

INTERROGATORIES WHEREUPON PEACHAM IS TO BE EXAMINED.

QUESTIONS IN GENERAL.

1. Who procured you, moved you, or adviſed you, to put in writing theſe traiterous ſlanders which you have ſet down againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government, or any of them?

2. Who gave you any advertiſement or intelligence touching thoſe particulars which are contained in your writings; as touching the ſale of the crown-lands, the deceit of the King's officers, the greatneſs of the King's gifts, his keeping divided courts, and the reſt? and who hath conferred with you, or diſcourſed with you, concerning thoſe points?

3. Whom have you made privy and acquainted with the ſaid writings, or any part of them? and who hath been your helpers or confederates therein?

4. What uſe mean you to make of the ſaid writings? was it by preaching them in ſermon, or by publiſhing them in treatiſe? if, in ſermon, at what time, and in what place, meant you to have preached them? if, by treatiſe, to whom did you intend to dedicate, or exhibite, or deliver ſuch treatiſe?

5. What was the reaſon, and to what end did you firſt ſet down in ſcattered papers, and after knit up, in form of a treatiſe or ſermon, ſuch a maſs of treaſonable ſlanders againſt the King, his poſterity, and the whole ſtate?

QUESTIONS IN PARTICULAR.

6. What moved you to write, that the king might be ſtricken with death on the ſudden, or within eight days, as Ananias or Nabal? do you know of any conſpiracy or danger to his perſon, or have you heard of any ſuch attempt?

7. You have confeſſed that theſe things were applied to the king; and that, after the example of preachers and chronicles, kings infirmities are to be laid open. This ſheweth plainly your uſe muſt be to publiſh them. Shew to whom, and in what manner?

8. What was the true time when you wrote the ſaid writings, or any part of them? and what was the laſt time you looked upon them, or peruſed them before they were found or taken?

9. What moved you to make doubt whether the people will riſe againſt the king for taxes and oppreſſions? do you know, or have you heard, of any likelyhood or purpoſe of any tumults or commotion?

10. What moved you to write, that the getting of the crown-land again would coſt blood, and bring men to ſay, *this is the heir, let us kill him?* do you know or have you heard of any conſpiracy or danger to the prince, for doubt of calling back the crown-land?

11. What moved you to prove, that all the king's officers mought be put to the ſword? do you know, or have you heard, of any petition is intended to be made againſt the king's council

and officers, or any riſing of people againſt them?

12. What moved you to ſay, in your writing, that our king, before his coming to the kingdom, promiſed mercy and judgment, but we find neither? what promiſe do you mean of? and wherein hath the king broke the ſame promiſe?

There follows in the hand writing of
Secretary WINWOOD.

Upon theſe interrogatories, Peacham, this day, was examined before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture. Notwithſtanding, nothing could be drawn from him, he ſtill perſiſting in his obſtinate and inſenſible denials, and former anſwer.

January 19th, 1614.

RAPHE WINWOOD.	GERVASE HELWYSH.
JUL. CAESAR.	RAN. CREWE.
FR. BACON.	HENRY YELVERTON.
H. MONTAGUE.	FR. COTTINGTON.

THE EXAMINATION OF EDMOND PEACHAM, AT THE TOWER, MARCH 10th, 1614.

BEING aſked, when he was laſt at London, and where he lodged when he was there? he ſaith he was laſt at London after the end of the laſt parliament; but where he lodged, he knoweth not.

Being aſked, with what gentlemen, or others in London, when he was here laſt, he had conference and ſpeech withal? he ſaith he had ſpeech only with Sir Maurice Berkeley, and that about the petitions only, which had been before ſent up to him by the people of the country, touching the apparitors and the grievances offered the people by the court of the officials.

Being aſked, touching one Peacham, of his name, what knowledge he had of him, and whether he was not the perſon that did put into his mind divers of thoſe traiterous paſſages which are both in his looſe and contexted papers? he ſaith this Peacham, of his name, was a divine, a ſcholar, and a traveller; and that he came to him ſome years paſt, the certainty of the time he cannot remember, and lay at this examinate's houſe a quarter of a year, and took ſo much upon him, as he had ſcarce the command of his own houſe or ſtudy; but that he would be writing, ſometimes in the church, ſometimes in the ſteeple, ſometimes in this examinate's ſtudy; and now ſaith farther, that thoſe papers, as well looſe as contexted, which he had formerly confeſſed to be of his own hand,

might be of the writing of the ſaid Peacham; and ſaith confidently, that none of them are his own hand-writing or inditing; but whatſoever is in his former examinations, as well before his Majeſty's learned council, as before my Lord of Canterbury, and other the Lords, and others of his Majeſty's Privy Council, was wholly out of fear, and to avoid torture, and not otherwiſe.

Being required to deſcribe what manner of man the ſaid Peacham that lay at his houſe was; he ſaith that he was tall of ſtature, and can make no other deſcription of him, but ſaith, as he taketh it, he dwelleth ſometimes at Honſlow as a miniſter; for he hath ſeen his letters of orders and licence under the hand of Mr. Dr. Chatterton, ſometime Biſhop of Lincoln. He denieth to ſet his hand to this examination.

Examinat. per FR. BACON. RANULPHE CREWE, GER. HELWYSE. H. YELVERTON.

THE TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION, WHETHER PEACHAM'S CASE BE TREASON OR NOT.

IN THE HAND-WRITING OF KING JAMES.

THE indictment is grounded upon the ſtatute of Edward the third, that he compaſſed and imagined the king's death; the indictment then is according to the law, and juſtly founded; but how is it verified? Firſt, then, I gather this concluſion, that ſince the indictment is made according to the preſcription of law, the proceſs is formal, the law is fulfilled, and the judge and jury are only to hearken to the verification of the hypotheſis, and whether the minor be well proved or not.

That his writing of this libel is an overt act, the judges themſelves do confeſs; that it was made fit for publication, the form of it bewrays the ſelf; that he kept not theſe papers in a ſecret and ſafe façon, [manner,] but in an open houſe and lidleſs caſk, both himſelf and the meſſenger do confeſs; nay, himſelf confeſſeth, that he wrote them at the deſire of an other man, to whom he ſhould have ſhown them when they had been perfected, and who craved an account for them, which, though it be denied by the other party, worketh ſufficiently againſt the deponer himſelf. Nay, he confeſſes, that in the end he meant to preach it; and though, for diminiſhing of his fault, he alledges, that he meant firſt to have taken all the bitterneſs

out of it, that excuſe is altogether abſurd; for there is no other ſtuff in, or through it all, but bitterneſs, which being taken out, it muſt be a quinteſſence of an alchimy ſpirit, without a body, or Popiſh accidents, without a ſubſtance; and then to what end would he have publiſhed ſuch a ghoſt, or ſhadow without ſubſtance; *cui bono*, and to what end did he ſo farce [ſtuff] it firſt with venom, only to ſcrape it out again; but it had been hard making that ſermon to have taſted well, that was once ſo ſpiced, *quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens*, &c. But yet this very excuſe is by himſelf overthrown again, confeſſing, that he meant to retain ſome of the moſt crafty malicious parts in it, as &c. §. [So the MS.]

The only queſtion that remains then is, whether it may be verified and proved, that, by the publiſhing of this ſermon, or rather libel of his, he compaſſed or imagined the king's death? which I prove he did, by this reaſon; had he compiled a ſermon upon any other ground, or ſtuffed the bulk of it with any other matter, and only powdered it, here and there, with ſome paſſages of reprehenſion of the king; or had he never ſo bitterly railed againſt the king, and upbraided him of any two or three, though monſtrous vices, it might yet have been ſome way excuſable; or yet had he ſpewed forth all the venom that is in this libel of his, in a railing ſpeech, either in drunkenneſs, or upon the occaſion of any ſudden paſſion or diſcontentment, it might likewiſe have been excuſed in ſome ſort; but, upon the one part, to

heap up all the injuries that the hearts of men, or malice of the devil, can invent againſt the king, to diſable him, utterly, not to be a king, not to be a Chriſtian, not to be a man, or a reaſonable creature, not worthy of breath here, nor ſalvation hereafter; and, upon the other part, not to do this haſtily or raſhly, but after long premeditation, firſt having made collections in ſcattered papers, and then reduced it to a method, in a formal treatiſe; a text choſen for the purpoſe, a prayer premitted, applying all his wits to bring out of that text what he could, *in malam partem*, againſt the king. This, I ſay, is a plain proof that he intended to compaſs or imagine, by this means, the king's deſtruction. For, will ye look upon the perſon or quality of the man, it was the far likelieſt means he could uſe to bring his wicked intention to paſs; his perſon an old unable and unweildy man; his quality a miniſter, a preacher, and that in ſo remote a part of the country, as he had no more means of acceſs to the king's perſon, than he had ability of body, or reſolution of ſpirit, to act ſuch a deſperate attempt with his own hands upon him; and, therefore, as every creature is ableſt, in their own element, either to defend themſelves, or annoy their adverſaries, as [birds] in the air, fiſhes in the waters, and ſo forth, what ſo ready and natural means had he whereby to annoy the king, as by publiſhing ſuch a ſeditious libel, and ſo, under the ſpecious pretext of conſcience, to inflame the hearts of the people againſt him. Now, here is no illation nor inference made upon

the ſtatute; it ſtands *in puris naturalibus*, but only a juſt inference and probation of the guilty intention of this party. So the only thing the judges can doubt of, is, of the delinquent's intention; and then the queſtion will be, whether if theſe reaſons be ſtronger to enforce the guiltineſs of his intention, or his bare denial to clear him, ſince nature teaches every man to defend his life as long as he may; and whether, in caſe there were a doubt herein, the judges ſhould not rather incline to that ſide wherein all probability lies: but if judges will needs truſt better the bare negative of an infamous delinquent, without expreſſing what other end he could probably have, than all the probabilities, or rather infallible conſequences upon the other part, caring more for the ſafety of ſuch a monſter, than the preſervation of a crown, in all ages following, whereupon depend the lives of many millions; happy then are all deſperate and ſeditious knaves, but the fortune of this crown is more than miſerable. *Quod Deus avertat!* *

* The manner of ſpelling uſed by King James, is ſo peculiar, that it was neceſſary to change it. The language, however, is preſerved without any alteration. Some readers will be apt to think that a King ought not to employ his learning and his logic in enlarging the boundaries of high-treaſon. Here it may be fit to ſubjoin a paſſage from a MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain, 23d February, $161\frac{4}{5}$, quoted by Dr. Birch, in his collection of Bacon's letters, p. 47. "The King has had the opinion of the judges ſeverally in

THOMAS SHERLEY
TO
KING JAMES.

PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

FIRST to pardon my boldneſs, and then to vouchſafe to bow down your gracious eye upon this encloſed paper, wherein your Majeſty may behold (if you pleaſe) the true anatomy of a moſt ruined poor gentleman; unleſs it will pleaſe your Highneſs (out of your princely benignity) to raiſe me out of the duſt, and enable me, to do your Majeſty better ſervice than hitherto I have done: and this your Majeſty may eaſily do, if you pleaſe, without any charge to you, only in forgiving me the ſeven thouſand pounds, which is yet unpaid, to the Earl of Somerſet, for my ranſom from him;

" Peacham's caſe; and, it is ſaid, that moſt of them con-
" cur to find it treaſon. Yet my Lord Chief Juſtice [Coke]
" is for the contrary; and if the Lord Hobart, that rides
" the Weſt Circuit, can be drawn to jump with his collegue,
" the Chief Baron, [Tanfield,] it is thought he ſhall be ſent
" down to be tried and truſſed up in Somerſetſhire," probably, becauſe the *overt* act of writing a libel was ſuppoſed to have been committed within that county. Peacham was condemned for high treaſon, 7th Auguſt, 1615, and died ſome months after in the jail at Taunton. Dr. Birch, ibid. P. 48.

whereby your Majeſty may enable me to an eſtate able to live; and only give me that which you have formerly beſtowed upon another, and I muſt pay out of my poor means, to mine utter ruin. It is the work of God to return this power into your Majeſty's hand, that thereby I may be relieved, and freed from perdition.

And, for a concluſion, I do proſtrate myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, humbly beſeeching, that my miſerable ſuit be not the worſe thought of, becauſe I fly directly to your Highneſs, without any collateral means.

To your Majeſty, I vowed my life and ſervice twenty years ſince; to your Majeſty's grace, I moſt humbly deſire to be bound. And ſo, in all humility, I leave your Majeſty to the protection of the Almighty, whom I do daily beſeech long to preſerve your royal life.

Your Majeſty's

pooreſt ſervant and ſubject,

THOMAS SHERLEY.*

The 21ſt of January, 1615.

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* There were ſome very enterpriſing men of the family of Sherley. The moſt remarkable was Sir Anthony Sherley, either the father or the uncle of this Thomas; it would require a volume to make a juſt recital of all his projects and adventures.

A BRIEF OF SUCH THINGS AS I DO MOST HUMBLY DESIRE YOUR MAJESTY TO PLEASE TO TAKE INTO YOUR ROYAL CONSIDERATION.

MY late father and myſelf have (with all our beſt endeavours) ſerved your Majeſty both in the late Queen's time and ſithence, to both our great charges, and mine extreme peril.

Videlicet: At ſuch time as the late Earl of Eſſex was executed, my Lord of Marr, my Lord of Kinloſs, now dead, and Sir David Foulis, were ſent in embaſſage to the late Queen, theſe, in one conference, amongſt divers others with my father and me, did greatly wiſh ſome good means to be found, to furniſh your Majeſty with a round ſum of money.

Many debates there were to that purpoſe, and no likely way could be thought of, till I offered to hazard my life and eſtate, to attempt to take from the Turk (who is enemy to God and man) his treaſure, and to lay it down, being taken, at your Majeſty's feet. This project was allowed and liked.

Whereupon I rod poſt to Florence, and put myſelf into the ſervice of that Duke, for the better countenance of my buſineſs, and to have a rendezvous where to refreſh myſelf and my men.

At my return from thence I met Sir Thomas Erſkine, now Lord Fentone, at Paris; and, by expreſs command from your Majeſty, I made relati-

on unto him of mine expedition in this buſineſs, who did well allow of it.

At his return into Scotland, at that time, he paſſed through England, and was twice at my father's houſe in the Black-friars, and did at both times ſpur on this enterpriſe.

Then I provided for it, and went to ſea with five ſhips well furniſhed, and was overthrown by ſtorms and contrary winds. After which I ſet out three ſhips, and with them I entered into the Streights.

Both theſe voyages coſt my father fourteen thouſand pounds (for which I am (yet) the poorer.) This charge I can prove by accompt.

In this latter, I was by my men betrayed, and taken priſoner by the Turks, where I continued three years in moſt unſpeakable miſery, ſuch as I would not endure the like again for ten thouſand pounds, as poor as I am.

Whilſt I was in this barbarous captivity, the Queen died, and my father (God his pleaſure being ſuch) made the worſt bargain with your Majeſty that ever was, and ſuch a one as no man living will make the like. He obtained from your Majeſty one thouſand pounds a-year, in parſonages, in fee farm, for which he doubled the rent, and bound the parſonages to pay one thouſand pounds a-year for ever, and his land the other. Theſe parſonages he ſold all, and left my land bound to pay this ſurpluſſage of rent, without any comfort, but all the loſs that this unhappy bargain yielded.

My father (being a man of excellent and working wit) did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majeſty's coffers well nigh a hundred thouſand pounds, for which he was promiſed by the late Lord of Saliſbury, Lord Treaſurer, a good recompence, which he never had.

It (once) pleaſed your Majeſty (in conſideration of the great loſſes ſuſtained by my father and myſelf) moſt graciouſly to give unto my father a grant of concealed alienations; by which means we both hoped to have recovered our great loſſes in the * ——————————

——————— when he was even ready to have received ſome benefit by it, the grant was taken from him by the violent inſtigation of the late Earl of Northampton.

When I returned home from my long and tedious captivity, your Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to afford me good countenance, gracious words, and to pity and commiſerate my miſerable eſtate, but never gave me the worth of one groat.

When God pleaſed to take my father to his mercy, I went to the court with a purpoſe to become an humble ſuiter to your Majeſty for a releaſe of my rent-charge; then, the Earl of Somerſet, being in great favour, croſſed my ſuit, and begged it for himſelf.

With him I compounded, and have paid him

* There is a line or two illegible at this place.

the whole ſum agreed, ſaving ſeven thouſand pounds; for raiſing of which money already paid, I was forced to ſell land at half the value, to mine utter undoing. He was greedy and earneſt, and my land is ſubject to ſo many croſs entanglements, as very few would buy any of it; and theſe few would not deal, but upon very unreaſonable conditions.

EARL OF PEMBROKE

TO

SIR EDWARD ZOUCH.

HONEST NED,

I KNOW you love your maſter dearly, and his pleaſures, which makes me put you in truſt with this buſineſs, myſelf not being able to ſtay in the town ſo late.

I pray you, therefore, as ſoon as it grows dark, fail not to ſend the cloſe cart to Baſſingborn for the ſpeckled ſow ye ſaw the king take ſuch liking unto this day; and let her be privately brought to the man of the ward-robe, by the ſame token, that I chid him for letting the other beaſts go careleſsly into the garden while it was day, and he will preſently receive her into his charge. Some may think this a jeſt; but I aſſure you it is a matter of truſt and confidence; and ſo, aſſuring myſelf of your ſecret and careful performance of it, I reſt,

Your affectionate friend,

PEMBROKE.†

† This letter may be conſidered as a burleſque of the manners of ſome grave men, who are *ſecret* and *careful* about things of little more moment than the *ſpeckled ſow that* King James *took ſuch liking unto*. The Editor underſtands, that ſome readers, have, from this letter, inferred that King James was guilty of practices moſt unnatural and brutiſh. Nothing but the ſpirit of party and prejudice, which ſometimes perverts the moſt upright judgment, could have made ſuch an inference.

MR. DU MOULIN TO KING JAMES.

SIRE,

JE loue Dieu de ce qu'il a conduit et addreſsé heureuſment votre voyage, vous ayant ramené au lieu de votre demeure ordinaire. Durant l'eſloignement de votre Majeſté nous n'avons pas ici manqué d'exercice. Ceſte court eſt ſemblable à la maiſon dont un eſprit malin éſtant ſorti, ſept autres eſprits pires que lui ſont entrés en ſa place. De ſorte que nous avons ſujet de ſouhaiter que ceux qui y ſont entrés de nouveau y demeurent de peur que d'autres pires ne leur ſuccedent. Le Pere Cotton, ayant quitté la court par le commandement du Roy, a quitté la place à d'autres qui ne valent pas mieux: entr'autres à un Jeſuite nommé Arnoux, fort ignorant, mais plein de venin et d'artifice, armé d'une eloquence theatrale, avec laquelle il nous deſchire et noircit comme diables en preſence du Roy. Un jour il s'aviſa d'eſplucher la confeſſion de nos egliſes devant le Roy, avec calomnies tendantes à ſedition. Qui plus eſt, il nous a envoyé un abregé de ſon ſermon, par forme de deffi, au veu et par conſentiment du Roy. Auquel ecrit nous avons reſpondu par un livre que j'ai donné a Monſieur votre ambaſſadeur, pour l'envoyer à votre Majeſté. L'epiſtre de ce livre dedié au Roy a fait un grand eſclat, pource que c'eſt un

chose inusitée, et une hardiesse sans example, d'oser parler au Roy de la religion. Le clergé a deputé vers le Roy des prelats, qui pour nous convaincre de sedition, ont, entre autres preuves, presenté au Roy, le Βασιλικὸν δῶρον de votre Majesté, où elle se plaint de quelques Puritains que l'ont persecutée devant sa naissance: et la dessus les gens du Roy ont fait contre nous des poursuites criminelles, dont le peuple etant en esmotion, le Roy pour empescher que cela ne causast de l'alteration en son estat, a avoqué l'affaire en son conseil. Où nous avons eté appelles tous quatre pour defendre notre cause: Là, en plein conseil, Monsieur le Chancelier, nous a fait une longue remonstrance dont la somme estoit: Que notre epistre avoit donné au Roy sujet de s'offenser. Que nous pouvons en nos predications et livres parler de notre religion; mais, que le Roy ne trouve pas bon, qu'on sollicite sa conscience. Qu'en ceste epistre nous appellions nos Rois, persecuteurs. Que nous renouvellions la memoire des maux passés, que l'edict du Roy commande d'assoupir. Que insolement et contre verité nous nous y vantons d'avoir seuls mis la couronne sur la teste du feu Roy. Que nous y appellons nos eglises *nos peuples*, comme si nous estions princes. Que nous taschons de mettre le Roy en mauvais mesnage avec le Pape, lequel si nous ne voulons recognoistre en autre qualité, au moins est il un grand Prince et ami du Roy. Que si nous voulons nous enquester de l'ambassadeur du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, nous pourrons apprendre que sitost qu'il se plaint de quelque e-

ſcrit ou le Roy ſon maitre eſt offensé, incontinent on lui donne contentement. Pour leſquelles cauſes, il nous declara, que le Roy nous defendoit de lui addreſſer aucun livre ni epiſtre ſans l'avoir premierement communiquée a ſon conſeil.

A quoi apres les ſubmiſſions requiſes, nous reſpondiſmes; qu'eſtant ſujets du Roy nous penſions avoir la liberté de lui former nos plaintes quand on nous outrage en ſa preſence. Qu'en noſtre epiſtre nous ne nommons point nos Rois perſecuteurs, mais que ſeulement nous diſons que non obſtant les perſecutions que nous avons ſouffertes ſous eux, nous leur ſommes demeurés fideles. Ce que nous diſons non par plainte, ni pour renouveller la memoire des maux paſsés, mais pour comparer nos comportemens avec ceux des Jeſuites qui nous calomnient, leſquels apres tant de biens receus, ne laiſſent de ſouſtenir que le Pape peut depoſer le Roy, auſquels nous ne voyons point que pour cela on face aucune remonſtrance. Que nous ne nous vantons pas d'avoir mis nous ſeuls la couronne ſur la teſte du Roy: mais ſeulement, que nous l'avons portè au Royaume a la pointe de l'eſpée: a quoi nous ne nions pas que pluſieurs Catholiques Romains n'ayent contribué: mais qu'eux n'ayant pas faute de perſonnes qui parlent pour eux, nous nous ſommes contentés de parler pour nous meſmes. Que ce mot, *nos peuples*, eſt une faute d'impreſſion. Que nous ſommes contents de recognoiſtre le Pape en qualité de prince, pourveu qu'il ſe veuille contenter de ceſte qualité. Je commencois à dire que nous ne comparons pas votre

Majeſté avec le Pape, mais Mr. le Chancelier m'impoſa ſilence, et nous falut ſortir.

Peu de jours apres arreſt a eſté donné au conſeil, par lequel nous eſt defendu de plus addreſſer aucun livre ou epiſtre au Roy, ſans l'avoir au prealable communiquée au conſeil.

Au meſme temps deux pirates Rochelois ayant eſté rompus ſur la roüe à Bordeaux, Mr. Cameron Eſcoſſois, miniſtre de Bordeaux, qui les avoit conſolés au ſupplice, en a ecrit des lettres conſolatoires, aux parents de ces criminels; eſquelles il loue leur repentance et conſtance en la mort. Ces lettres, inprimées a la Rochelle, ſont venues es mains de la cour de parlement de Bordeaux, qui les a fait bruſler en public par la main du bourreau, comme ſi elles taſchoient à faire deux martyrs de deux brigans, combien que à la verité il n'y a rien en ces lettres qui tende a cela.

Depuis huit jours un gentilhomme de qualité de la religion, nommé Beauvais St. Germain, a eſté pris en ſa maiſon, et mené à Moulins, où il a eſté le meſme jour decapité contre toutes formes, et ſans lui permettre la voye d'appel, par une eſtrange precipitation, ſur une accuſation de fauſſe monoye; dont ceux qui ont eſté depuis executés apres lui l'ont deſchargé; et cela en haine de ſa religion. La Royne eſt toûjours a Bloys, où elle eſt après a y eſtablir les Jeſuites. Les biens eccleſiaſtiques qui ont eſté tenus par ceux de la religion il y a plus de cinquante ans au pays de Bearn, leur ont eſté arrachés depuis peu de jours par arreſt du conſeil et ont eſté rendus aux eveſques et curés,

dont le pays eſt en grande eſmeute; pour ce que les villes, et les garniſons, et les charges, et offices ſont tenus par ceux de la religion, qui font demonſtration de ne vouloir ſe deſſaiſir de ce qu'ils poſſedent, par la volonté et eſtabliſſement fait [par] le feu Roy et par la Royne ſa mere. Hier les gardes furent redoublées à Mr. le Prince ſur un advertiſement qu'on eut qu'il y avoit entrepriſe pour le tirer du priſon. Voila, Sire, l'eſtat de nos affaires, par leſquel votre Majeſté cognoiſtra que Dieu ne nous laiſſe point ſans exercice et ſans crainte pour l'avenir. Parmi ces maux nous avons ce bien, que noſtre jeune Roy n'eſt point porté de ſon naturel à la violence, et aime la juſtice, et commence à ſe faire craindre. Votre Majeſté, qui lui ſert d'exemple de vertu, et qui lui a tousjours ſuggeré des bons conſeils et ſalutaires, lui ſervira auſſi, moyennant la grace de Dieu, d'exemple de benedictions de Dieu et d'une longue proſperité. J'y porterai mes voeux, et demeurerai toute ma vie,

Sire, de votre Majeſté

tres humble, et tres obeiſſant ſerviteur,

DU MOULIN.*

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* This letter is addreſſed Au Roi, and yet Du Moulin did not mean to renounce his alledgeance to the King of France. The appeal made by the prelates of the Gallican church to the authority of King James's book, in order to blacken their own Puritans, is remarkable.

JOHN GORDON,

DEAN OF SALISBURY,

TO

KING JAMES

PLEASE YOUR GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

THAT John Sharpe, maſter of arts, hath been theſe five years in this country a preaching miniſter, wherein he hath behaved himſelf very well, and is now ſchool-maſter in our cloſe of Saliſbury, where alſo he doth preach. And if your Majeſty be remembered, he did preſent an oration and ſome verſes unto your Majeſty, the laſt time your Majeſty was at Saliſbury, who hath no hope of preferment, unleſs it be by your princely favour and gracious help. And becauſe one of the prebends there would beſtow his daughter on him, if your Majeſty would be pleaſed to give him the vacation of his prebend, ſo humbly beſeeching your Majeſty to further ſuch a good work, I pray God to bleſs your Majeſty with all manner of bleſſing, ſpiritual and temporal.

Your Gracious Majeſty's moſt humble,

obedient, and faithful ſervant,

JO. GORDON, DEC. SARUM.

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.†

ANNA R.

MY KIND DOG.

IF I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing fincerely and earneſtly with the King, that Sir Walter Raleigh's life may not be called in queſtion. If you do it, ſo that the ſucceſs anſwer my expectation, aſſure yourſelf that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and reſt one that wiſheth you well, and deſires you to continue ſtill, as you have been, a true ſervant to your maſter.

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† The reader owes the publication of this ſingular paper to Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Biſhop of Carliſle, who copied it from the original in the hands of Biſhop Tanner, 1733. The character of Biſhop Lyttleton affords ſufficient evidence of its authenticity.

KING JAMES

TO

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, THE BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN, BRECHIN, AND GALLOWAY, AND CERTAIN MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH.*

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLOR, AND REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD, AND RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, AND OTHERS OUR TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED, WE GREET YOU WELL,

WHEN we received and perused your letter, of the 26th of February last, concerning the graven work of wood intended for decoring of our seat in our chapel at Halirudehouse, we were at first afraid that some of the directors or workmen had been Papists; and so, without our know-

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* "Among other directions sent from the King, one "was for repairing of the chapel; and some English carpenters were employed, who brought with them the portraits of the apostles to be set in the pews or stalls. As "they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle "rumour went, that *images were to be set up in the chapel:* and as people are given to speak the worst, it was "current among them that *the organs came first, now the "images, and ere long they should have the mass.* The "Bishop of Galloway, then Dean of the chapel, moved with

ledge, had intended there to erect such idolatrous images, and painted pictures, as those of that profession are in use to adore. But when we had better considered, and exactly tried what was done, we find but a false alarm, and that causeless fears had made you start at your own shadows. Yet seeing a change is commanded of that work, upon notice given to us, by the master of our works here, of the difficulty and langsumness [tediousness] thereof, lest our silence, and not answering of your letter, might be interpreted for a kind of consent or approbation of what ye write thereanent; and to the effect that the command of that alteration shall not be thought to have proceeded from any such conceit in us, as ye are possest with, we have thought good hereby to certify you, that we were not induced thereto upon any such ground or consideration, but meerly because of the misdoubt conceived that the work could have been so well or so soon done in that kind, as in the form

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" these speeches, did pen a letter to the King, entreating his " Majesty, for the offence that was taken, to stay the af- " fixing of these portraits. To this letter he procured the " subscriptions of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bi- " shops of Aberdeen and Brechin, and divers of the mini- " sters of Edinburgh." *Spotiswood*. Book vii. p. 530. This Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Forbes, requested the King to write a letter to the President of the court of Session " to be his *friend* in all his lawful actions." i. e. suits of law. MS. Advocates Library.

now directed; and therefore do not deceive yourſelves with a vain imagination of any thing done therein for eaſe of your hearts, or ratifying your error in your judgment of that graven work, which is not of an idolatrous kind, like to images and painted pictures, adored and worſhiped by Papiſts, but meerely intended for ornament and decoration of the place where we ſhould ſit, and might have been wrought as well with figures of lions, dragons, and devils, as with thoſe of patriarchs and apoſtles. But as we muſt wonder at your ignorance, and teach you thus to diſtinguiſh between the one and the other, ſo are we perſuaded, that none of you would have [been] ſcandalized or offended that the ſaid figures of lions, dragons, and devils had been carved and put up in lieu of theſe of the patriarchs and apoſtles; reſembling in this the Conſtable of Caſtile, who being ſent here to ſwear the peace concluded between us and Spain, when he underſtood that this behoved to be ſolemnly performed in our chapel, he foreſaw likewiſe that then ſome anthems would be ſung; and therefore proteſted, before his entry of our chapel, that whatever was ſung, God's name might not be uſed in it; and ſo as that were forborn was content that they ſhould ſing what elſe they liſted. Ye could likewiſe endure the devil or monſters to be figured, for ornament of your churches, but cannot allow that patriarchs or apoſtles ſhould have the like place or acceſs therein, the very report whereof (as ye write) hath animated Papiſts, and ſo far grieved and offended all true profeſ-

fors, as ye are not able to expreſs the offence taken thereat; Adding, that the like carved work is in none of our chapels here. But as we have ſaid enough already to clear your error in the firſt, ſo to let you ſee your miſtake in the laſt, theſe ſhall certify you that in our chapel here at Whitehall, and moſt part of all our other chapels in this kingdom, the like ornament is uſed; and even the apoſtles portraits to be ſeen ſo carved, and ſet up for adorning the ſame, though we never obſerved nor knew it till your letter gave us occaſion to make trial and inform ourſelves thereof. And truely we wonder, that at this time ye will ſo idly buſy yourſelves to find matter of ſcruple where there is none, when you have rather occaſion to rejoice, and fill others with joy, for our ſo near approaching coming thither. Neither will we ever think that any good profeſſor there will ſuſpect, or ſuffer himſelf to be poſſeſt with ſo ridiculous a conceit, as once to fancy that we will do any thing for encouragement of Papiſts, or introduction of any part of their idolatry in the churches of our dominions. For it is manifeſt to the world, that we have endeavoured nothing ſo ſeriouſly as to repreſs and ſtay the growth of Popery, to encourage true profeſſors, and keep and confirm them in the profeſſion of the truth, pure and free from all corruption, either of Papiſts or the other oppoſite; this we think no man will not acknowledge. And if what is elſe ſaid will not ſuffice for perfect ſatisfaction, and clearing you of all doubts, in the above written points, we hope to bring to

that kingdom with us ſuch as, by their knowledge and doctrine, ſhall reſolve and perſuade you, and all others of your coat and profeſſion, that will not reject inſtruction, and remain blind in a wilful ignorance, of the undoubted warrant of theſe and the like points. And whereas ye write that the bringing in of organs was hardly taken at firſt, by many of our people, but that ye knowing our pleaſure was ſuch, and the indifferency thereof had made them that offended to be quiet, we muſt pray you to excuſe us, if we give you not thanks for ſo ſingular a piece of good ſervice, as no doubt ye conceive that to be; and would fain know if our actions have ſo grieved or eſtranged our peoples affections, as that therefore we have need of your mediation between us and them. No, ſure; for they have experience of our favour, and we of their love, ſo as neither the one nor the other is to be doubted of. But by the way we cannot omit here the remembrance of the ſeventeenth day of December, and, by that day's experience, to tell you that as the paſtor, not the people, is the cauſe of their miſleading, ſo we doubt not to give them contentment; and that, at our being there, they will, in ſuch points, rather truſt us, and conform themſelves to our ſo well warranted deſires, nor the paſſion of any preacher there, of whatſoever degree. In concluſion, when you write hereafter, ye ſhall do well to weigh and underſtand better what you write, nor apparently ye have done in this purpoſe, and ſo we commit you to God. From our court at Whitehall, the 13th of March, 1617.

LORD BINNING,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.†

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

IN the assembly, now dissolved, nothing was proponed, but the articles sent by your Majesty, an great part of the ministers were so willfully inclined to have the hail [whole] deferred at this time, to the effect they might have leisure and opportunity, by reading the fathers and councils, to resolve if, with good conscience, and without scandal of inconstancy to the kirk and themselves, they might yield to the alterations and novelties which they imagined the articles to imply: That it was very difficult to my Lords of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and remanent Bishops, assisted by the wisest and learnedest of the ministry, and your Majesty's commissioners, to induce the disordered multitude, and their leaders, to determine upon any particular. And so being driven to the extremity either to dissolve the assembly, without any manner of progress, and with manifest dissention, or to make use of the best expedient the time could produce, in the determination of some of the articles, all the best affected to your Majesty's service thought

† See Spotiswood. Book vii. page 535.

it expedient to accept what wiſdom and authority could gain at this time, and leave the reſt under hope, and promiſe of ſatisfaction at the next aſſembly; and ſo the article of giving the communion to the impotent and dangerous ſick, in their private houſes, and delivery of the elements out of the miniſter's hands to the people, at the public celebration, being obtained in ſuch manner as the formed articles, to be ſent to your Majeſty be my Lord of St. Andrews, bear; when the article of the holy-days was of new urged, the deſire of delay was ſo univerſal, in that and the reſt of the propoſitions, that the biſhops were forced, for fear of a direct refuſal, to yield to the continuation, upon promiſe, made by the moſt part of the pretended preciſians, that they would uſe all poſſible endeavours to prepare themſelves, with conſent of their well informed flocks, to give your Majeſty ſatisfaction at the next aſſembly. My Lord of St. Andrews' fear of your Majeſty's offence, by delay of your ſo juſt and godly deſires, made him ſo paſſionately inſtant as he could ſcarcely be induced, by any perſuaſion, to accept any doubtful or dilatory anſwer; and moved him to threaten them with your Majeſty's reſolution, to ordain by acts and penal proclamations, againſt the contraveeners, to have all theſe articles undelayedly obeyed; ſhewing to them how diſgraceful it would be to the kirk of Scotland, in the judgment of all the reformed churches in Europe, that our ignorant and obſtinate refuſal of ſo godly and lawful propoſitions ſhould force your Majeſty, by your

Chriſtian authority, to compel them to do that which their duty ſhould have moved them to embrace, with thankful acknowledgment of your Majeſty's care to have the abuſes of our church diſcipline reformed, and rightly conformed to the univerſal order of all the reſt of the true Chriſtian churches in Europe. But the reſt thinking [thought] the delay, with aſſured hope of ſatisfaction, leſs hurtful nor [than] an abrupt and contradictory diſſolution; which we all moſt humbly wiſh that your Majeſty may graciouſly allow, ſince we are confidently perſuaded that the next meeting ſhall give your Majeſty contentment, ſpecially if your Majeſty grace the next aſſembly with commiſſioners of greater ſufficiency and authority; albeit I may affirm, and hope the biſhops will teſtify, that theſe who were at this time employed wanted no good will to give their beſt concurrence. So wiſhing to your Majeſty many happy years, that we may enjoy the conſtant fruits of your moſt prudent and gracious reign, I reſt

Your moſt Sacred Majeſty's

moſt humble, faithful, and

obedient ſubject and ſervant,

BINNING*

St. Andrews, 28th Novemb.
at night, [1617.]

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* Afterwards created Earl of Melroſs.

LORD BINNING,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.†

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

AT our coming to this town, finding that the moſt preciſe and wilfull Puritans were choſen commiſſioners, by many of the preſbyteries, ſpecially of Lothian and Fife, I was extremely doubtful of the ſucceſs of your Majeſty's religious and juſt deſires. At the private meeting of your Majeſty's commiſſioners, and the biſhops, my Lord of St. Andrews denied not the apparent difficulty; but declared, that being hopeful that the happineſs which always accompanied the juſtice of your royal deſigns, would not fail in this action, he thought the victory would be more perfect, and the obedience more hearty, when the Puritans ſhould ſee the articles concluded in the preſence of their greateſt patrons, their opinions being confuted by lively reaſons and undeniable truth.

The ſermon before the aſſembly was made by the Biſhop of Aberdeen, who with great dexterity proponed the weight of the purpoſes to be intreated, and the neceſſity of conſideration, that the bo-

† See Spotiſwood. Book vii. pag. 337—540.

dy of the church being aſſembled by your Royal direction, for treating of articles proponed by your Majeſty, firſt to an number of the principal miniſters at St. Andrews, and thereafter to the aſſembly at St. Andrews, your Majeſty had conceived great offence for the delays then uſed; and being perſuaded, in your excellent wiſdom and conſcience, that the articles were juſt and godly, and only ſhifted becauſe they were proponed by your Majeſty, by ſuch as had gl' ried to be oppoſite to your ſacred deſires. It was to be feared, if, at this time, your Majeſty ſhould not receive ſatisfaction, your wrath might be ſo kindled, as the church loſing your wonted fatherly favour, they might feel the heavy prejudice of that conſequence. And therefore exhorted them, in humility, zeal, and Chriſtian love, to diſpoſe themſelves to proceed wiſely, and with all due reſpect to your Majeſty.

At the meeting of the aſſembly the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews made the exhortation, and by an moſt godly and wiſe diſcourſe remembered the auditors of your Majeſty's infinite benefits to the church, your wiſdom in their direction for keeping of purity, and ſuppreſſing Popery, your patrociny of the good, mercy to offenders of their profeſſion, care for proviſion of maintenance to paſtors, and learning and zeal in defence of the true religion, by your moſt famous works publiſhed againſt the adverſaries, which had incenſed the Papiſts to think your Majeſty the only let of their prevailing, and for that only quarrel to ſeek, by treacherous means, the trouble of your eſtate and

deſtruction of your ſacred perſon; and the true profeſſors, through all Europe, to honour your Majeſty as the protector of all the reformed churches, and to acknowledge your Majeſty the umpire, and moſt competent and beſt qualified judge, of all controverſies ariſing among them; exhorting therefore every one to conſider and acknowledge how juſtly they were bound to expreſs their loyal reſpect and true obedience to your Majeſty, by yielding to your lawful deſires in the articles proponed.

The exhortation ended, he called the commiſſioners, and nominated theſe for the conference. Some propoſed that an moderator might be choſen, whom he ſilenced, becauſe he would not ſuffer the privilege of his place to be queſtioned; and therefore rehearſing what had been done in the aſſembly at St. Andrews, and wittily taking it *pro confeſſo*, that all the articles were in ſubſtance allowed there, except that of kneeling at the communion, proponed that to be diſputed. Great inſtance was made that the matter, being of ſo high conſequence, might be entreated in the public aſſembly; but the contrary was ordained. Difficulty was made anent [concerning] the conception of the words of the queſtion; and the oppoſite urged, that reaſons might be given why the article was neceſſary. It was anſwered, and concluded, that the article coming from your Majeſty ſhould be allowed, unleſs they could prove it was unlawful. So Mr. William Scott of Coupar, being commanded to ſpeak, opponed againſt the article with

modeſty and proteſtation, that he would be unwilling to adduce reaſons to impugn an propoſition coming from your Majeſty; and thereafter, proceeding to his arguments, was ſeconded by Mr. John Carmichael, with more vehemence and wilfulneſs. They alledged, that the order preſently obſerved in this country being agreeable to the word and Chriſt's inſtitution, and they ſworn, at their admiſſion to the miniſtry, to obſerve the true religion and diſcipline received in this church, they could not with ſafe conſcience alter it. Which being anſwered, they came to the ſubſtance of the queſtion anent the manner of receiving; and ſpent the reſt of that day, and an part of the next, in diſputation upon that ſubject; nothing being omitted by the adverſaries which their own inventions, or the writings of theſe who allow their opinion, could ſuggeſt, which being wiſely and warily refuted by my Lord of Glaſgow, whom Dr. Lindſay of Dundee, and Dr. Philp of Arbroath, Dr. Bruce, and ſome others of the beſt and moſt learned, did aſſiſt with many evident and pithy reaſons, the article was ordained to be voted in the conference, and in end allowed, by ſo great odds of voices as gave wonderful contentment to all the well affected; yet the number of the vulgar miniſters, having vote in the public aſſembly, being very great, our doubt reſted what the event might be of that which depended upon the opinions of an multitude of ignorant or preoccupied people. For remedy whereof, my Lord of St. Andrews, who, in direction, diſputation, and all other cir-

cumſtances of this action, expreſſed great wiſdom, learning, and authority, well beſeeming his place, delayed the voting the ſecond day, that he and his brethren might have ſome time to diſpoſe things to an wiſhed end.

This day the Biſhop of Galloway made a very pertinent ſermon to perſuade the brethren to peace and edification; thereafter the aſſembly conveening, new diſturbances were caſten in to renverſe all that was done in the conference, and bring it of new to diſputation, ſo as my Lord of St. Andrews was forced to permit all the articles to be of new reaſoned; and if he had not, by very grave authority, reduced their diſcourſe to diſtinct and formal reaſoning it had been impoſſible to bring matters to any concluſion. Some oppoſitions made yeſterday were this day repeated, and little of any ſubſtance added by ſuch as were not of the conference, all which was judiciouſly and perſpicuouſly refuted by my Lords of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, and Doctors Lindſay and Philp, whoſe faithful and profitable endeavours merit your Majeſty's gracious remembrance. If complaint be made by Mr. John Carmichael that I would not ſuffer him to enlarge his diſcourſe of the antient controverſy betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern church, anent the preciſe and true day of Chriſt's birth, I muſt have recourſe to your Majeſty's mercy.

In end, my Lord of St. Andrews cutting ſhort their affected ſhifts, whereby they intended either to diſappoint the matter, or to perſuade the aſ-

ſembly to remit it to another meeting, he ordained this propoſition only to be voted, Whether the aſſembly would obey your Majeſty in admitting the articles proponed by your Majeſty, or refuſe them? Some inſiſted to have them ſeverally voted. But both he and the Dean of Wincheſter (whoſe diligence, diſcretion, council, and good aſſiſtance, in this ſervice, have been faithfull and very commendable,) declared, that your Majeſty would receive none, if all were not granted. And ſo being put to voting in theſe terms, fourſcore and ſix allowed the articles, forty and one refuſed them, and three were *non liquet*.

My Lord of Scone *antiquum obtinet*, and will never *aberrare a via Regia*. My Lord Carnegie, the treaſurer depute, advocate, Kilſyth, and Sir Andrew Car, have done that faithful duty which became them. The Earl of Lothian, the Lords Sanquhar, Ochiltree, and Boyd, did likewiſe attend, with an good number of honourable and well affected Barons. But the praiſe of the ſucceſs being only due to the wiſdom of your Majeſty's directions, the worthieſt inſtruments have been the two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of Galloway and Aberdeen, and remanent of their eſtate, of whom none were negligent or remiſs, but profeſſedly reſolved in the advancement of the action. Many miniſters kythed [appeared] very dutiful both in reaſoning and voting, but all theſe particulars I muſt remit to the Dean of Wincheſter's relation. Only aſſuring your Majeſty, that albeit the contention was vehement, both in the

conference and public aſſembly, yet after they were voted there appeared great contentment in many good mens faces, for the happy and peaceable approbation of your Majeſty's articles. If your continual care of the good of this country and church move your Royal mind to intend hereafter any church matters, of ſuch conſequence, I beſeech your Majeſty, for the good of your own ſervice, to employ an more fit commiſſioner in my place, who am as unſkilful in theſe ſubjects as I am ungracious to the oppoſites. So thanking God for the bleſſed end of theſe affairs, and praying him that your Majeſty may long live, and happily prevail in all your Royal enterpriſes, I reſt

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

faithful, and bound ſervant,

BINNING.

Saint Johnſton, [Perth,] the
27th of Auguſt, at night,
[1618.]

GEORGE GLAIDSTANES,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN, IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

ALBEIT the bearer hereof, Mr. Patrick Lindſay, and Mr. Arthur Fethie, for whom he alſo takes dealing, have, by their honeſt and loyal ſervice to your Highneſs, obtained ſuch good likeing and acceptance of your Majeſty, as they need not the recommendation of any; yet I have taken boldneſs to give my teſtificate of their conſtant and unaltered proſecution of all your Majeſty's ſervices, in ſemblable manner, as they did when we had the fruition of your Majeſty's moſt comfortable preſence. Many do eye ſervice, but theſe be affectioned and ſtout ſoldiers, and ſuch as are requiſite for the Metropolitan of North Britain, who cannot fight but an back, [without being backed,] as your Majeſty knows. The mean ſuit they are to propone to your Highneſs, will be an encouragement to continue them in their wonted fidelity and forwardneſs, rather than the juſt value of their ſervice. I will not impeſche [trouble] your Majeſty with the repetition of theſe inſtructions anent the communion ſervice, committing the ſame to your Majeſty's royal ſolicitude, and

to my Lord of Glaſgow his ſufficiency; only this, if any, by importunity, have purchaſed reſervations, whereby your Majeſty's princely deſign will be ſtained, and we made rather notional than real Biſhops, that it would pleaſe your Majeſty to diſcharge the ſame, for it will be needleſs to buy this work from any more. All are ready to obtemper your Majeſty's direction in this behalf, who are of any moment. Mr. Andrew Melvin hath begun to raiſe new ſtorms with his Eolick blaſts. SIR, You are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highneſs, Neptune. I muſt ſay,

Non illi imperium pelagi, ſacrumque tridentem
Sed mihi ſorte datum ———

Your Majeſty will relegate him to ſome Aeolia

——*ut illic vacua ſe jactet in aula.*

Thus the Eternal preſerve your Majeſty's moſt royal perſon and eſtate for ever. I remain

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſervitor,

SANCTANDROIS.

Edinburgh, 19th Junii.

COUNTESS OF DORSET TO KING JAMES.

MY MOST DEAR SOVEREIGN,

MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty to give me leave to let you underſtand how my cauſes go in my continued afflictions.

In your Majeſty's name, I was the ſecond time committed to priſon, not yet knowing the cauſe of that commitment, and ſtill remain debarred, not only of your preſence, but of the Queen's and the Prince's alſo, not being able to conceive the cauſe: and yet, whereas by the princely word of your Majeſty, proceeding from your own mouth, I ſhould have had 1600 l. yearly for my maintenance, in my late huſband's days, I cannot yet obtain one penny thereof, although I have been ever ſince in a chargeable ſuit for the ſame; and unleſs it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to ſignify to my Lord Chancellor, that it was your pleaſure (which I truſt your Majeſty doth remember) that I ſhould enjoy ſo much, my counſel inform me, that I have no way but that only to recover it.

If the greateſt enemy I have, can prove, that by any faults committed by me, either in breach of my vows to my huſband, or offence to your Majeſty, or any your laws, I did deſerve ſo great afflictions, as to be debarred of meat, drink, and other neceſſaries for the ſuſtenance of my life,

in my husband's time, I intreat no favour herein: and therefore (no such thing to be proved) I will ever most humbly seek justice at your Majesty's hands, where I assure myself to find it.

Touching the suits for my dowry: I am now with exceeding much ado your Majesty's sworn widow; * and, therefore, am much comforted to remember, that your Majesty took an oath to Almighty God, at your coronation, to defend and protect me in my just causes, your Majesty having none other yet but myself in this your kingdom; neither hath the like been in the whole reigns of Queen Elisabeth, Queen Mary, or King Edward, as I can possibly find with my great charges and labour; and, therefore, now most humbly beseech your Majesty to make me so much bound unto you, as command my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Treasurer, without farder delay, to suffer me to enjoy the benefit of your most princely prerogative, according to your Majesty's laws provided in that behalf. And if I had known, or might have been suffered to have taken my oath, to have been your Majesty's widow (which I often tendered in your Majesty's courts personally) I might

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* *Vidua Regis* dicitur relicta ejus qui de rege tenet in capite, hoc est, de coronâ suâ *Regisque* adeo *vidua* nuncupata est, quod sine regis licentiâ ad secundas nuptias non transeat, quin et dotem impetret ex regia assignatione, regemque habeat patronum et defensorem. *Spelman* Gloss. voc. *Vidua Regis*.

have been as near the obtaining of my dowry a year ſince as now.

And if ſtill the like courſes be offered (as have been carried againſt me in all my ſuits) give me leave, moſt Dread Sovereign, to relate them unto you, that your Majeſty, knowing them truly, may not only relieve me, but others that may happen to taſte the like miſeries, by the like delays.

And ſo I will ever pray unto the Almighty, upon the knees of my ſoul, that he will always direct your heart to truſt only thoſe whom your Majeſty ſhall find loyal and faithful: and ſo careful to ſee your Majeſty's laws duly executed, as neither favour nor affection may biaſs or pervert their proceedings therein, to the ſafety of your Majeſty, and all yours, and to the joy and comfort of your loving ſubjects in all your kingdoms.

In all humbleneſs,

your Majeſty's ſworn widow,

AN. DORSET.

Becauſe your Majeſty is not at leiſure to hear me yourſelf, I will go and impart ſome matters to my Lord of Canterbury, hoping he will truly acquaint your Majeſty therewith.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, TO MR. JOHN MURRAY OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I RECEIVED from Mr. Chancellor of the exchequer an anſwer drawn to your petition, concerning the old debts, wherein he would have me join with him. He was earneſt for the return thereof to him, but I thought I would give no conſent thereto, till you had ſeen it; I therefore ſtole ſo much time as to ſcribble it forth, and ſend you account of it, which will not pleaſe you; for there is nothing in it for good for you, or gainful to you. I have ſent it him back, without conſent, and have with a little ink ſignified ſome diſallowances. He thinks he hath done you much kindneſs, which you know beſt if it be ſo. You know his double diſpoſition, to be both full of delays, before he doth any thing, and full of reſolution, when he conceives a thing, not to alter it. I find by ſome of my honourable friends, ſome lords, ſome ladies, that this vote of the London charter, and of my proſecution for it, hath been in council and determination long, and that the great Marquis † hath it under his Majeſty's hand;

† Buckingham.

Firſt, That he gave no warrant to me for the granting of any new liberties to the city. Secondly, That having been oft informed by Sir Edward Coke in private, when none but the marquis was preſent, that what was done was without warrant, and to the great loſs of his Majeſty; that I ſhall not only be caſt out of my place, but his Majeſty hath alſo promiſed liberty for my being called into Star-Chamber. I confeſs I ſhall be one of the laſt ſhall believe this, it doth ſo much transform my maſter from that habit of mercy, grace, and reſpect, he hath ever ſhewed me; but if the importunity of the great man hath gained ſo much on his Majeſty's affection, as to let ſo ſevere juſtice fly upon ſo well an affected and true-hearted ſervant as I have been, I will bemoan my misfortune in ſecret, and humbly bear what he ſhall inflict, though I ſhall be the firſt that ever was brought to a king's ſervice, afflicted all the time I ſerved, and then be laid upon the wheel, as a reward for my time ſpent, which yet I thank God hath wholly been for his Majeſty, and not for myſelf. "Let not "theſe things trouble you; for it is told me ſuch "things will come, and are near coming." God's will and his Majeſty's be done; for it is told me the gibbet is appointed before I be heard. And, when I was on Friday laſt called before the Lords, Sir Edward Coke told me he had been a ſuitor to his Majeſty, that he might have been none of the commiſſioners; but his Majeſty would force him againſt his deſire to be one, which ſhews ſome face of a great intended proſecution, the rather becauſe

he was then in no ſmall jollity. And your letter, which I received late yeſternight (for which I thank you) importeth much cauſe of fear, when the commiſſioners have already reported, that neither my ſecond warrant, which I ſhewed them, is ſufficient for what is done, nor that they themſelves are in any ſort ſatisfied; which report of theirs meaneth no good to me; but as I am reſolved, in the end, be it never ſo heavy, ſo my own conſcience cleareth me, that all my proceedings have been faithful and honeſt.

The commiſſioners hereby ſeem to prejudge his Majeſty that ſigned the warrant; but I am incloſed among ſuch a company as have waited long my overthrow; for I am ignorant what warrant can be better, than when his Majeſty ſaith, what courſe ſoever I ſhall ſettle between the city and him, ſhall be well liking to him. Now, the courſe I ſettled was this, to confirm their old liberties, and to give them ſome ſmall additions of new liberties for better government, ſo as if this warrant ſerve me not, nothing could; for it is general. Secondly, Leaveth the courſe to be taken to my diſcretion. Thirdly, Promiſeth an approbation to what I ſhall do; and when ſome of the lords, as my Lord Arundel and Sir Edward Coke, ſaid to me, that warrant was not enough, I anſwered, I thought it was; and his Majeſty, and not they, muſt judge it. Howſoever, I ſaid, it could be made no error, but by conſtruction, they conſtruing it one way, and I another; at the moſt, it is but a fault of ignorance in my miſconſtruing the

king's meaning ſecretly implied in thoſe general words, and no adviſed or purpoſed error. I told them likewiſe, I had warrant from his Majeſty by word of mouth; for, in truth, at Whitehall, when I attended him about this ſervice, and he was pleaſed in ſpecial at your motion and mine, to ſay he would have the waſtes and encroachments of the city confirmed to them, though at the time he was offered 30000 l. by a great lord for them. I then propoſed to him the firſt particular liberty they deſired, which was to have him that ſhall be Mayor the next year, juſtice of peace the year before, that he might be a little trained up in government before he took it upon him, which his Majeſty then approved; and I farther ſaying, they deſired ſome other petty matters, he left them to my diſcretion, wherein I hope his Majeſty will not diſavow me.

That which grieveth me moſt, is, the great noiſe this buſineſs maketh; for their ſo long and ſo often ſitting, muſt make the world believe the Attorney is a great offender.

I had hoped that his Majeſty would have taken a ſhorter courſe, as to have heard their objections and my anſwers in writing, which had ſoon been ſet down, but the policy of the Lords is otherwiſe, to which his Majeſty giving way, I muſt and do humbly and willingly ſubmit.

The lords, when I was laſt before them, touched no particular fault in the charter, but aſked divers other queſtions, which I anſwered, and I had thought they had ſent them to the king; ſo would

I have been glad from you to have known how his Majeſty took them.

I confeſs, I being unacquainted with theſe kind of attendances, and knowing my innocency, cannot but much be troubled, to ſee the ſnare laid for me, out of ſpleen, and much more to ſee my maſter thus deſtitute me, and giving power to them to load me with what diſgraces they can invent; and you know Sir Edward Coke wants not invention in this kind; for he can make motes beams.

I ſee the hand of God is in it; and I will wait his, and his Majeſty's leiſure, and let this act fall out either tragically or not. I ſhall deſire to redeem my quiet with the loſs and leaving of my place; for I can live contentedly with a ſallad, where four herbs are not, rather than to bear the ſhew of a place, when others do ſo much ſhadow it. For the point of Bedlam, which you pointed at when I talked with you, it is as you ſaid; but no loſs to his Majeſty; for king Henry the Eighth having made the mayor and commonalty perpetual governors, orderers, and diſpoſers of the lands he had given to Bedlam, whereby they have ever ſince diſpoſed them, and leaſed them at their pleaſure, and the crown never meddled with them, nor could by the firſt intention of the king. Mr. Recorder deſired that the lands themſelves might now be paſſed to them: Firſt, Becauſe it was directly within their petition, to have the lands intended to them, aſſured to them. Secondly, Becauſe they found much hurt in keeping them as they did; for if either any ſtranger wronged them

in these provisions, or any tenant would not avoid at the end of his lease, they had no remedy by law to right these wrongs, so as the king losing nothing, and the city hereby being made owners, where before they were the only disposers of them. I hope it is directly within my warrant, and am sure the king, in honour, power, and profit, is as before.

I am sorry I offend so much in length; but it is because I would desire you may fully understand the business, and be a helper, as you may. For which I will ever rest,

Yours at command,

HENRY YELVERTON.

24th April, 1620.

SIR HENRY YELVERTON, ATTORNEY-GENERAL, TO MR. JOHN MURRAY. OF THE BED-CHAMBER.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I WAS before the lords yesterday, who examined Mr. Recorder, and others; I know not who they were. They also examined me of many particulars, but with a charge from his Majesty, not to discover to any whereupon I was examined; therefore must be silent. They also enjoin, that I shall not confer with Mr. Recorder, nor with the Solicitor of the city, whereby I am bereaved of much munition and arms I might otherwise have; for if my being too credulous to them have not brought forth some errors, I dare swear there is no hurt done. I would have been very glad I might know the particulars wherein they take his Majesty wronged, in honour, or in loss; for I know I could prove they cast their account amiss; and that by no wrested way it can appear, the loss to 40 sh. by year. Besides, if it were once discovered, wherein they found his Majesty pinched, the lord mayor and aldermen have this day sent me word they will humbly and gladly renounce all those particulars, and lay themselves at his Majesty's feet.

I muſt ſtill tell you, the confidence of my enemies is great and joyful: and the breakfaſt a friend brought me this morning, was, that the Marquis * on Sunday ſaid, he would make me the pooreſt attorney that ever was. I thank God, none of their ſpleen ſhall make me impatient. What tormenteth me, is, leſt by this means they ſettle in his Majeſty ſome opinion of my unfaithfulneſs, which will not ſo eaſily be recovered; which I ſuſpect the more, becauſe I find his Majeſty hath been ſo long acquainted with this matter, and is ſo reſerved to you, and me, and all other my friends: only my triumph is, that they ſhall never dare upbraid me with corruption or under-hand dealing.

If his Majeſty would but make me ſo happy, that I might have the words in the charter ſet down, let me be made a wonder, if I do not fully ſatisfy all them that have not promiſed to themſelves not to be ſatisfied; howbeit, herein is part of my miſery, that theſe things be grounded wholly upon courſe of law, for drawing the books, and for choice of words and of covenants. There is none of the commiſſioners that underſtands law but Sir Edward Coke; and I fear he will be content to forget it, and tranſlate it to a ſtranger ſenſe in my caſe, than he would in the caſe of ſome others; for, you know, the ſight of a white rag hung on a hedge, will make a whole herd of deer to ſtand at gaze.

But what his Majeſty appoints, I humble my-

* Marquis of Buckingham.

ſelf to it; and, ſo I were off the ſtage, I ſkill not who plays my part, if his Majeſty be ſettled that I have not abuſed him, which I would not do for the city of London.

The lords will keep this from burning a long time, during which, I ſhall be like a lamp, with the light downward, that quencheth itſelf. I am glad I have ſo worthy a friend, my meſſenger; for, next his Majeſty, I moſt truſt in you two. So reſt, diſtracted, unfit for any ſervice, I am ſo encumbered with this burden I may not yet be ſuffered to eaſe myſelf of; yet ſhall ever reſt,

Unfeignedly,

Your friend and ſervant,

H. YELVERTON.†

25th April, 1620.

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† From this, and the preceding letter, the reader will perceive, how ill informed R. Johnſtone was, in ſaying, "Yelvertonus ſe cum moderatione ac judicio defendit, invitum in donationes quas injuſte impetratas putaret, conſenſiſſe, atque crimen in mandatarios [mandantes] deplit; quibus aut parendum, aut procurationis officium amittendum." *Rer. Brit.* l. xviii. p. 559.

THE EARL OF MELROS, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO KING JAMES.*

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE nobility and council being conveened in this town, as they were appointed, upon the 25th of this month, they ſpent that day and the next in deliberation upon the beſt means to give humble and effectual ſatisfaction to your Majeſty, in your deſire of their ſupply to the defence of the Palatinate, the native patrimony of your Majeſty's grand-children; and finding ſundry things neceſſary to be proponed to your royal conſideration, which they thought could not ſo conveniently be repreſented by letter, as by more ample relation of one of their number; the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrews being very inſtantly requeſted by them all to undertake that charge, which he could not well decline, has reſolved not to loſe any time, but has already begun his journey towards court, leaſt delay might have procured your Majeſty's offence,

* This letter, and the following ones from the Earl of Melros, better known by the title of Earl of Hadington, are publiſhed to ſhew the manner in which public affairs were conducted in *Scottiſh* parliaments.

and hindrance to that important and moſt neceſſary buſineſs, which all good ſubjects do zealouſly affect. Nothing will hinder the haſte of his paſſage, unleſs the extremity of evil weather or ſickneſs diſable him to end it ſo ſpeedily as he earneſtly intends. If your Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to ſuſpend your reſolution till his coming to court, your Majeſty may be aſſured, that he will either propone the means which your Majeſty will approve, or if any other courſe be unalterably determined by your Majeſty, at his return, your Majeſty's pleaſure being ſignified to the nobility and council, I verily hope it ſhall be obeyed to the uttermoſt of their abilities, which I humbly remit to your gracious conſideration. And earneſtly praying God long to preſerve your Majeſty's life, health, and proſperity, which aſſure the accompliſhment of all the wiſhes of your ſubjects for their perfect wealth and peace, I reſt,

Your moſt ſacred Majeſty's

moſt humble, faithful,

and ever bound ſervant and ſubject,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th January,
1621.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE Lords Chancellor, Treaſurer, and I, according to the commandment of your Majeſty's letter to us, met with the Lord Archbiſhop of Saint Andrews, and adviſed upon the matters mentioned in the letter, and others related by him to us by your Majeſty's direction; and agreed, in uniform opinion, that we could noway preſume to nominate a commiſſioner to your Majeſty. Your own experience and knowledge of the noblemens ſufficiency and diſpoſitions, and your incomparable wiſdom, being only able to make the fitteſt choice; ſo that we can meddle no farther in that point, but humbly to pray your Majeſty, to conſider, that the perſon to be truſted with that weighty charge, muſt, in the honourable exerciſe thereof, be forced to be at great expences, and ſo will need ſome relief from your royal bounty.

Anent [Concerning] the ſum of the contribution, we could proceed no further, but to conclude, that we muſt all ſtudy to extend it to the greateſt quantity that the country can bear; and, for that purpoſe, to prepare all with whom we can have opportunity to confer before the parliament,

to yield to the higheſt rate, and to perſuade others to do the like; and to force the beſt reaſons and means, that may induce every eſtate to a very large contribution, according to our aſſured good hopes.

We reaſoned upon the form of the impoſition, and of the manner of payment thereof, not forgetting the large help which may be exacted of the wealthier ſort, which heretofore have been free of all taxations, they neither being churchmen, landed men, nor burgeſſes, neither could it be well ſeen how they might be brought under the neceſſity of contribution. For removing this doubt, I proponed, that the ordinary taxation, being granted in large quantity, might be impoſed upon the eſtates in the accuſtomed manner; and an act of parliament obtained, ordaining that the wealthy annual-renters ſhould contribute to the ſupply of your Majeſty's moſt important and neceſſary preſent affairs; for which effect, commiſſion ſhould be given to a ſelected number, to call and tax them to a reaſonable proportion of ſubſidy, according to their ſtock and rent; and to ſummon them, by open proclamation, to compear at a certain day, to give up a true declaration of the ſums for which they received annualrent, by infeftment, bond, or other ſecurity whatſomever; and, if need was, upon denial, to put them to oath, or to prove againſt them by writ; with certification, that all the ſums concealed by them ſhall be confiſcated to your Majeſty, whenever they ſhould be diſcovered; and if the debtor would delate them, he ſhould be free of the third of his debt, for his

pains; he paying to your Majeſty the two part thereof, which the lords conſented to: and if this courſe receive your Majeſty's approbation, it ſhall be proponed, and carefully proſecuted.

It was thought by us, that your Majeſty's diſcharge of bypaſt contraventions of the penal ſtatutes will greatly encourage the people, now ſtanding in fear of vexation, by reports of ſome mens intentions to beg warrants to trouble the ſubjects by ſuch purſuits, to grant the more willingly to a large taxation; and that much more may be expected, if it ſhall be allowed to come in at ſundry terms, nor [than] if it ſhall be preſſed to be paid all at one diet. [term.]

My Lord of Saint Andrews told me, that your Majeſty had directed him, to command me, to ſend up a warrant for appointing a commiſſioner, which I ſend herewith; and that I ſhould alſo ſend the frame of a letter to be directed to the eſtates, which I have likewiſe obeyed, but with juſt fear that the prolixity may offend your Majeſty; and that more ſhall be found in it to delete or alter, nor [than] to be allowed; but I ſhall hope that your Majeſty's accuſtomed grace and bounty to me ſhall procure my faithful obedience to be accepted for ſacrifice: and, thank God, that I have a royal maſter, excellent above all other in well-doing, ſpeaking, and writing, to pardon, cover, and amend my defects: and, as in France, their king is accounted the firſt ſecretary of eſtate, and has aſſigned to him (as they term it,) *la premiere bourſe* of their fees; ſo I am aſſured, that when all the beſt ſecretaries of the

world ſhall be conveened, they will be found inferior to your Majeſty in the ſkill of their own profeſſion; and I being one of the moſt incapable, muſt regrete and excuſe my errors, with the misfortune of wanting the happineſs of your Majeſty's particular directions, and ſtill have recourſe to your Majeſty's gracious and benign conſtruction, which, with innumerable other benefits and favours, ſhall make me inceſſantly to beſeech God, to continue his bleſſings to your Majeſty's ſubjects, by your long and happy life, and ever to comfort and ſtrengthen your royal mind with the proſperous ſucceſs of your princely enterprizes, and accompliſhment of your deſires.

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble, faithful,

and eternally bound ſervant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 29th March,
1621.

KING JAMES.

TO

THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

JAMES R.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD, OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUNSELLORS, AND RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUSINS AND COUNSELLORS, AND OTHERS OUR TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED SUBJECTS, COMMISSIONERS FOR THE SMALL BURROWS IN OUR PARLIAMENT NOW ASSEMBLED, WE GREET YOU HEARTILY WELL.

OUR longer exercise in the school of experience nor [than] any Christian prince now living, having teached us, that the licentious life of man doth not breed more new and dangerous diseases in the body, nor [than] his corrupt affections produceth daily new disorders in the state, which more necessarily require speedy cure from the care and wisdom of the prince, nor [than] bodily infirmities need the help of faithful and skilful physicians. We were thereby possessed with an earnest desire and resolution, to have this year, in our own person, kept our parliament in that our kingdom, that so we might have rather seen nor [than] heard the desires of our loving subjects, and they feel the accustomed fruits of our fatherly care of their good. But the combustions of Christendom (to which many, out of cruel and malicious intentions, add oil, and few have either

ſuch care or credit for quenching thereof as ourſelf) have forced us to prefer the neceſſity of procuring the peace of Europe, and ſafety of the profeſſors of true religion, mercileſly perſecuted by greateſt powers, to our own weightieſt affairs, and moſt earneſt deſires; and, nevertheleſs, leſt the progreſs of diſorders, and delay of their redreſs, might make the diſeaſe dangerous, if not deſperate, before our being there, (which we undoubtedly intend by God's grace this next year,) we have directed our right truſty and right well beloved couſin and counſellor, the Marquis of Hamilton, as our commiſſioner, to ſupply our abſence in this preſent parliament, which our nobility and council, by their ſeveral letters, have earneſtly requeſted us to indict this preſent year; and have commanded him to ſignify to you, that the chief cauſe of his employment, is, to give conſent, in our name, to the redreſs of ſuch diſorders as ye ſhall propone, requiring preſent reformation; and to declare to you our pleaſure anent [concerning] the expeding of ſuch acts, as we (out of our natural and wonted zeal to religion and juſtice) have thought expedient for good order and policy both in the church and eſtate. We have alſo directed him to make known to our eſtates, the preſent condition, not only of our own affairs, but alſo of foreign princes and ſtates, and with what inceſſant ſolicitude we have dealt with the ambaſſadors of neighbour princes and republics reſident at our court, to procure free and ſafe exerciſe of religion to theſe that are joined with us in profeſ-

ſion of the true goſpel, and reſtitution of their eſtates, forcibly uſurped by their powerful neighbours, and have performed the like offices by our ordinary and extraordinary ambaſſadors, ſent, at our infinite charges, to the moſt part of the princes and ſtates of Chriſtendom; wherein, albeit conjunction in religion has been our chief reſpect, yet the diſtreſſed eſtate of our ſon-in-law, adding an particular intereſt of nature and honour, has compelled us to beſtow exceſſive ſums of money, both for the charges of his maintenance, and of our deareſt daughter, and of their many hopeful children, and likewiſe for the Electrix dowager his mother, ſince the power of their enemies, having diſpoſſeſſed them of the greateſt part of their patrimony, has forced them, for their ſafety, to retire to the Low Countries. How extraordinary theſe burdens are to us, hardly can any man conſider; but every man knoweth that it is impoſſible to bear them, without the large help of faithful ſubjects well affected to our juſt courſes. It is almoſt a year ſince we ſignified to our nobility and council, the neceſſity of their ſupply in this urgent occaſion, whoſe anſwers, by their letters to be read to you, will expreſs the cauſe of the delays, and aſſurance of their affections. We have heard of late, that ſome, either not well affected to the cauſe, or ignorant of the true ſtate of affairs, have travelled to poſſeſs our people with an opinion, that, ſince by treves procured by us, the charges of war are diminiſhed, that there is little need of contribution: but faithful ſubjects will wiſely con-

ſider how exorbitant our bypaſt charges have been, and how exceſſive our debt contracted upon that neceſſity is, and how it daily grows by the numbers of ambaſſadors ſent by us to all princes, and that the debt muſt either be repaid, or our credit and honour ſo wounded, as when we ſhall have moſt to do, we ſhall find no ſuch ſupply as the ſurety of our ſubjects and eſtates may require. Some there are, that dare ſay, that we, being in peace with our neighbour princes, have no need to furniſh charges to the wars of others, whom we take to be no better than traitors and atheiſts*; for ſince the war doth in a part concern our ſon-in-law, and our grand-children, we muſt diſclaim nature, if we ſhall not partake of that war, if, by our mediation, we ſhall not procure their peace and reſtitution of their eſtates: beſides, that religion being aſſaulted by that war, and the wars in France and the Low Countries, muſt we not confeſs, that if they continue and grow, *noſtra agitur tunc res paries cum proximus ardet.* Others, more heady, are bold to ſay, that their contribution would have been more ready, if in time we had embraced the war, who merit no other anſwer, but *dulce bellum inexpertis, et nullum bellum juſtum niſi quod neceſſarium;* and ſince peace muſt be the end of war, princes have ever been thought more wiſe and juſt who have entertained peace, and prevented, and in time pacified wars, nor [than] ſuch, as after the deſolations of that ſcourge of God's

* Never was the term ATHEIST ſo oddly applied.

wrath have not thought of peace till deſtruction of men by ſword, peſt, and famine, the devaſtations of towns, churches, and whole countries, the violated chaſtity of women of all ſorts and ages, and the blood of ſucking babes, had polluted, deſolated, and diſpeopled the land of men, goods, and all things neceſſary for human ſociety, and ſo diſabled thoſe brutiſh princes, born for the miſchief of mankind, longer to proſecute the unbridled and unbounded malice of their avaritious and ambitious minds. The laſt aſſault given to the good affections of our ſubjects, is, the repreſenting of the poverty of that our kingdom, and ſcarcity of monies, whereof we are ſorry, and have directed our Commiſſioner to concur with you in the means of remedy thereof, willing you to conſider, that it is not ſo much the importance of the ſums which ye are able to contribute that we reſpect, as the trial of your affections; and that your ſtraining yourſelves to your uttermoſt abilities, may give example to your neighbours of greater wealth to do the like in their due proportion. When ye ſhall weigh the neceſſity of the cauſes of our deſires, the importance of the affairs both for religion and ſtate, and ſhall remember what obligations of retribution are impoſed upon you, by our many graces, favours, and liberalities, not only to the moſt part of all the ſubjects of that our kingdom in their particular, but to every ſtate and whole body of the kingdom in general, we are confident, that at this occaſion (more neceſſary than any other that ever ocurred in our life) ye will

increaſe your wonted contribution as the ſtate of the affairs requires, and as ye are bound to us, who, for your ſafety and peace, incline to the counſel given by the oracle to Philip of Macedon, to make wars with money, which is rather to prevent and quench wars with great charges, nor [than] unneceſſarily maintain it with incomprehenſible harms incident to that peſt. Many other things, concerning our affairs and your good, are by our direction to be imparted to you by our ſaid Commiſſioner, whom we require you to truſt and to reſpect, as one who being near to our perſon, and acquainted with our affairs, and good intentions, hath ſeemed moſt fit to us for the preſent charge; and, as by him we ſhall know your proceedings, we ſhall remember and reward your duties according to your deſervings; which we hope and wiſh to prove, according to our deſigns and dealings toward you; and ſo bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our mannor of Theobalds the 13th of July, 1621.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

NECESSARY duty commands me to give your Majeſty advertiſement of the proceeding of matters concerning your Majeſty's parliament, of this your Majeſty's kingdom; and my exerciſe therein, refuſing me leiſure to do it orderly, forces me to beg your Majeſty's gracious pardon, rather to do it in rude form and ſtile, nor [than] by curioſity of thoſe, to neglect any points of ſubſtance. The Marquis of Hamilton, your Majeſty's commiſſioner came to Edinburgh, upon the 18th of this month, and met no ſooner ſome noblemen and barons upon his way, but, after interchanged courteſies, he began to require their aſſiſtance in his charge of your Majeſty's ſervice. The next day he conferred with the Dean of Winchester, and Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, of church matters, and others, concerning your royal directions in parliament, and then met with ſome few of your moſt truſted officers and counſellors: and leſt the reſt of the council and nobility ſhould ſuſpect that concluſions were made by a few number, and they neglected, he conveened them all upon Saturday, and by their advice, reſolved upon the time of ſen-

ging [conſtituting] the parliament, day of the riding of the eſtates, and courſe to be kept for preventing contentions, trouble or diſorders; upon Sunday in the afternoon, and Monday, he continued his dealing with particular men of every eſtate, and ſpecially the noblemen, whoſe favour he preſſed to conciliate, by hearty converſation and feaſting; but, hearing upon Monday afternoon, that a mad miniſter of Morton, called Simpſon, had made a fooliſh and malicious ſermon in the Gray-friars church of this town, upon Sunday in the afternoon, and that Mr. Andrew Duncan, ſometime miniſter of Crail, and, for ſundry contempts done to the biſhops, now deprived, had given to the clerk of regiſter a ſupplication to have been preſented to the parliament, impugning, in effect, the articles of the aſſembly of Perth; whom two miniſters, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews and I cauſed to be apprehended by the captain of the guard; your Majeſty's Commiſſioner did preſently conveen the council, where they were accuſed, and, upon notoriety of their offences, were preſently ſent priſoners to the caſtle of Dumbarton; and, upon knowledge that the commiſſioners of the Burrows had aſſembled themſelves for affairs concerning their eſtate, and that ſome nine or ten miniſters had importunely obtained entry and audience of them, and exhorted them not to allow in parliament the articles of Perth, offering to read and deliver to them their ſupplication and proteſtation like to that other given by Mr. Andrew Duncan to the clerk of regiſter, your Majeſty's

Commiſſioner, by advice of the council, ordained a proclamation to be made, declaring, that, upon knowledge had of the ſeditious behaviour of ſome miniſters, who, to the ſcandal of their profeſſion, having left their flocks and due charge, were come to Edinburgh, to ſtir ſedition, and trouble the courſe juſtly intended by your Majeſty for the good of the eſtate and church; therefore they were all commanded to void the town, and return to their charge (except ſuch, as verifying to their ordinarys the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of their affairs, ſhould obtain their licence to remain) under the pain of horning and preſent impriſonment; which being publiſhed, hath freed the town and eſtates of that tumultuous crew. Upon the 25th, the eſtates being ready to ride to the parliament-houſe, Langton ingyring [officiouſly preſenting] himſelf to take poſſeſſion of the office of uſher to your Majeſty, which neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had enjoyed in any living man's memory, and being firſt requeſted, and thereafter charged, diſobeying both, was, for his contempt, ſent to the caſtle of Edinburgh. Immediately thereafter a contention aroſe between the Lords Hay and Keith, for their privileges in keeping and guarding the parliament-houſe, which being difficultly ſettled, the eſtates rode to the tolbooth in great number, and good order; being conveened, your Majeſty's commiſſion was read, and then the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews made an excellent ſermon, of the honour and obedience due by ſubjects to princes, of tribute and cuſtom to be paid to

them; and exponed wittily the word *Reddite*, aſcribing it to due and neceſſary payment, and not to giving, adducing the examples of Chriſt's own payment of tribute, and his mother's taking him in his cradle to Jeruſalem, where the whole Jews were, by the law of God, commanded yearly to conveen and pay tribute. He alledged many examples of the loſs and ruin of kingdoms and eſtates for neglecting to contribute to ſupply the wars of their princes, and moſt notably the loſs of Conſtantinople, and the empire of the Orient, applying all to the juſtice and neceſſity of your Majeſty's preſent deſire, which he amplified by all convenient circumſtances. Laſt, he brought handſomely in the purpoſe of the church articles; and, amongſt other reaſons, proponed the acknowledgment contained in the firſt Confeſſion of Faith made after the Reformation, ratified by act of parliament 1567, acknowledging that church diſcipline and rites could not be perpetually unchangeable, but were upon good conſiderations alterable, and ſo being indifferent; and the articles now introduced being lawful and expedient, needed no other warrant but the judgment of our King ſo religious, wiſe, learned, and juſt, as the world had not ſeen his equal. After him ſpake your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, of the charge impoſed by your Majeſty upon him, his ſenſe of his own inſufficiency and neceſſity of the obedience, regreting that he could not worthily relate your royal directions, with ſuch grace as might prove anſwerable to the expreſſion of your love of this people, which was

the only reaſon of his employment. That the parliament was indicted at the earneſt requeſt of the nobility and council, the juſt cauſes of your Majeſty's deſire of ſupply notour to the world, not for any ambition upon your part to increaſe the power of your ſon-in-law, or his children, with other mens eſtates. That war being begun by the people of Bohemia, impatient of the heavy yoke impoſed upon their perſons and conſciences, and their ſubtle and inſtant introduction of your Majeſty's ſon-in-law to undertake their protection more raſhly nor [than] your Majeſty's either known or after-knowledge allowed; but the progreſs of the uſual accidents of war having brought upon him diſadvantages and loſſes, which, not being remedied, would tend to his eternal ruin and diſperſing of your grand-children, your Majeſty was forced to contribute great ſums for his defence, not of intention to maintain a continual war, but to avert his utter overthrow, till by your royal care and wiſdom ye might by mediation and treaty procure peace and reſtitution of his patrimony, wherein the charges of your ambaſſadors, ordinary and extraordinary, ſent to the moſt part of the princes and eſtates of Chriſtendom were ſo great, as could not be duly conſidered by ſuch as were not privy to matters of ſuch conſequence, not communicable to the vulgar ſort; and while, as your Majeſty was in good hope of ſettling that great war, ye were drawn under new trouble and charges, by the wars of the Valteline, France, and the Low Countries, whereof no ſettling could be

expected but by your Majesty, whom God hath endued with so extraordinary wisdom, graces, and authority, that the Christian world acknowledged you alone for arbiter of their controversies; that the manifest danger of religion in all the parts of Christendom did more nearly touch your religious heart, nor [than] the interest of your children, seeing the world knew, that in the matching of your daughter (matchless for virtue) your Majesty upon consideration of the frailty of man's life, albeit that your dear son then promised that which God hath since performed in him by strength of body, happiness of health, and accomplishment of all princely virtues; yet, desiring that, if God should appoint him to die without issue of his body (which God defend) [forbid] the world might see that your Majesty did not so much affect the honour of more eminent, powerful, and wealthy alliance by her with Papists, who, not seeking money with her, would, as it were, have bribed your Majesty with infinite treasures to have granted to them the honour of your royal alliance, you, out of mere zeal to religion had, as it were, entailed your posterity to the protection of religion, by her marriage with an excellent prince of our profession*.

* King James had not always entertained such thoughts; for, by his instructions to Sir Michael Balfour at the court of Florence in the 1601, it appears, that he proposed to give the Princess Elisabeth in marriage to the Great Duke's son. MS. Advocates Library.

Thereafter he expreſſed the zeal and forwardneſs of our neighbour country at full, and ſpecially of the Londoners, who had forbidden feaſting, when your Majeſty's grand-children would have been compelled to faſt, if your natural and religious bounty had not royally furniſhed them all princely charges; and, therefore, exhorted the eſtates to increaſe the quantity of their wonted contributions, according to the importance of the preſent eſtate of affairs, rather to ſtir up our neighbours by expreſſion of their affection, nor [than] the value of the ſum, aſſuring them, in your Majeſty's name, that if they ſhould at this time behave themſelves thankfully and worthily, your Majeſty meant not hereafter to trouble them with furniſhing more monies. Laſt, he recommended the affairs of the church, and that they would therein remember the bypaſt proofs of your excellent knowledge, great care and travels for maintaining and promoting religion; the public teſtimonies of your admired works, reverenced by the learnedeſt of the world; the malice of adverſaries preſſing to procure your death (which God avert) as the higheſt of their hopes and deſires for prevailing againſt all the profeſſors of the truth. He roughly inveighed againſt thoſe who treaſonably ſlandered your Majeſty with intention to introduce all Engliſh ceremonies, but ſpecially againſt thoſe who ſpoke of Papiſtry or liberty of conſcience, aſſuring them, that if they would obey and confirm the acts already made, your Majeſty would never

intend any future alteration†. He enlarged thoſe grounds in ſo good terms, as all the eſtates acknowledged how well he had profited under the hand of the beſt maſter in the world. The public ſpeeches were concluded by my Lord Chancellor, whoſe deſcription of the dignity of a parliament, and honour of the particular eſtates and members thereof, in ſo high ſtile, and learned ſubſtance, as did exceed the capacity of many of the vulgar auditors. He cloſed with a pithy exhortation for the contribution, and church affairs. Thereafter the Lords of Articles were choſen with ſuch dexterity, that no man was elected (one only excepted) but theſe who by a private roll were ſelected as beſt affected to your Majeſty's ſervice. A propoſition was made, containing a novelty anent [concerning] meeting of all the nobility after the articles were concluded, to fit and conſider of them before they were ratified by public parliament, which was ſo dexterouſly uſed, as I hope no harm ſhall enſue. I had almoſt forgotten, that your Majeſty having juſtly blamed my errors, in the firſt draught I ſent of a letter to have been ſent by your Majeſty to the eſtates, and being pleaſed to declare that you would cauſe reform it, and ſend it down, when I perceived that it had not been remembered, and that time would not permit to ſtay till it might be required and had, I ra-

† It would have been well if this promiſe had been remembered by the unfortunate ſucceſſor of King James.

ther took boldneſs to adventure to preſent that, whereof I ſend herewith the copy authorized by warrant entruſted by your Majeſty to your Commiſſioner, nor [than] that the parliament ſhould either defer or delay too long. If it pleaſe God to make me ſo happy, as that my conjectural ſtile be no more offenſive to your Majeſty, nor [than] it was to the eſtates, and that your Majeſty may be pleaſed to ſend me an warrant in writ, pardoning that which I was forced to adventure for the good of your ſervices, I ſhall humbly thank his Heavenly Majeſty, and always beſeech him to grant to your Majeſty all the bleſſings that your royal heart, and the hearty affections of your faithful people beg to you at his bountiful hands. And reſt,

Your Majeſty's humbleſt,

and moſt obliged of all

your faithful ſervants,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 26th July,
1621.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

WEARINESS, and some pain in my eye, forced me to use my brother's hand in the letters I wrote yesterday of that had then past in matters concerning the parliament. Thereafter the Lords of Articles met, and, after reading your Majesty's letter to the parliament, and the other two which the convention of the nobility and council sent this winter to your Majesty, the taxation was mentioned by your commissioner, with so ample and judicious expressions of your Majesty's infinite charges, furnished to the entertainment of the forces of the princes of the union, very long, and of the army commanded by General Vere; beside, your navy at sea, and the charges of your children and grand-childrens maintenance, which enforced undeniable necessity of supply, they had only reason to consider what difference was in the causes and nature of this present action (the event whereof may, in worldly appearance, import the preservation or overthrow of religion in all Europe, and the uphold or perpetual ruin of that most antient, famous, and princely estate of the Palatinate) and these of former times. This pro-

poſition, ſtrengthened by many reaſons pertinently alledged by the Lord Chancellor, Mar, and others, faithfully diſpoſed to the good of the purpoſe, after long and modeſt reaſoning, produced an uniform reſolution, that a taxation behoved to be granted. The next queſtion being of the quantity, my Lord of Saint Andrews alledged a precedent of King David's ranſom, amounting to three hundred thouſand merks, or, as others write, an hundred thouſand merks; as likewiſe the ſums paid for King James the firſt his redemption; which, conſidered, according to the ſcarcity of monies in that age, and abundance thereof in all the world at this time, might inform us how great a ſum was now requiſite for the reaſons proponed by my Lord Commiſſioner. Then my Lord of Scone's opinion being demanded, he roundly told, that he had his honour, eſtate, and whole fortune of your Majeſty, and would beſtow them, and his life in your Majeſty's ſervice, thinking ten hundred thouſand merks a competent ſum, whereof he would readily pay his part, and what further your Majeſty pleaſed to command. That ſum being thought exorbitant, I anſwered, that my Lord of Saint Andrews's true examples imported much more, becauſe an hundred thouſand merks in King James's days, was an hundred thouſand merks weight of ſilver, whereof every merk weight being eight ounces of ſilver, would amount at three pound the ounce, as it now gives, to four and twenty hundred thouſand pounds. In the end, it was concluded, that where the greateſt taxation

that ever was before, was four hundred thouſand merks, paid in four years, there ſhould now be given four hundred thouſand pounds in three years; for it is appointed to be paid at four Martinmas terms, whereof the firſt will be Martinmas next, and ſo be compleat that time three years. The Lords thought it more fit that the act ſhould be conceived in theſe terms, that the pound land holden of your Majeſty ſhould pay thirty ſhillings yearly, and the kirk lands, and teinds, and burrows, the like proportion, which in effect is four hundred thouſand pounds, nor [than] that the expreſſion of the ſum ſhould inform the world of the ſmalneſs of our means when they are racked to extremity.

The next article was anent [concerning] the taxations of annualrents, wherein the novelty bred difficulty, and the intereſt of the commiſſioners of burrows, and others, ſtrict oppoſition; but, becauſe I knew much of their eſtate, and of the nature of that courſe, which myſelf, amongſt others, have long exerciſed with benefit, I preſſed to detect the ſecret of their pretexts; and, after great altercation, rather than reaſoning, it was concluded, that all annualrents ſhould pay tax without immunity of any eſtate or perſon. The means of trial, quantity, and terms of payment, reſt to be conſidered. The good ſucceſs of what has paſt, makes us to hope for the like in that which reſts concerning the church articles. I pray God I may have ſpeedy occaſion to ſend your Majeſty contented advertiſement thereof: and that he may

be pleaſed to bleſs and long preſerve your ſacred perſon, and proſper your affairs, I reſt,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble, faithful, and

bound ſervant and ſubject,

MELROS.

Edin. 27th July, 1621.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

My letters of the 26th and 27th of July have informed your Majeſty of things done at that time in parliament. Thereafter the church articles were allowed by the Lords of Articles with good uniformity. Since that time there has not ariſen any great controverſy in the houſe for matters of moment: the articles proponed either being found profitable for the country, or, if they concerned particular parties, they were lawfully concluded after hearing of the parties intereſted; only the taxation of the annualrents has been much impugned by the burgeſſes, and ſome ſmall barons, upon pretext of the harm which they may ſuffer in their credit, if their debts ſhall be unneceſſarily diſcovered; who have been anſwered with clear and juſt reaſons; but they ſtill perſiſt in their oppoſition, albeit with more modeſty than others, who not being of the articles, and having craved permiſſion to conveen to prepare motions to be proponed to the articles, have converted the favour, obtained upon that ſpecious pretext, to a meeting of noblemen and barons, who are reported to have dealt ſo paſſionately againſt the con-

firmation of the church articles, and the taxation of annualrents, that your Majeſty's Commiſſioner was forced to diſcharge the abuſed liberty of their aſſembling; and, ſince that time, has been forced to take ſo continual travel to diſſolve their combination, and, by the aſſiſtance of all his friends, duly affected to your Majeſty's ſervice, to convert them to their duty, as has permitted ſmall time of reſt or ſleep to him. He inclined to have cauſed puniſh ſome of the moſt avowedly malicious; but, the error being almoſt popular, he was counſelled to forbear offenſive rigour, and to ſtudy to calm and reclaim them by more mild means; and is in hope to prevail ſo with a number of them, that they ſhall either ſtay and concur in your Majeſty's ſervice, or abſent themſelves, and ſo do no harm. The reſt, who ſhall be found irrecoverably malicious, will be made known to your Majeſty, who may and can beſt judge of their merits. I can promiſe no further as yet, but good hope, with aſſurance of more pains, patience, and wiſdom in your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, faithfully aſſiſted by ſome of your Majeſty's ſervants, nor [than] could have been believed. God, who has ever directed your Majeſty's juſt intentions to wiſhed end, will overcome the malice of this oppoſition to your Majeſty's contentment; which I pray his Heavenly Majeſty long to grant in all your royal affairs. And reſt,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,
and bound ſervant,

Edinburgh, 2d Auguſt, 1621. MELROS.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

HAVING written my other letter upon the ſecond of Auguſt in the morning, this is to render your Majeſty account of what is ſince ſyne [ſince that time] done in articles. That day your Commiſſioner, at five a'clock in the morning, began his conſultation with the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrews, Lord Carnegie, Clerk of Regiſter, Dean of Wincheſter, and me, by what friends means he might either reconquer the oppoſites who had vote in parliament, or perſuade or compel them by lawful order to be abſent; and, according to our joint opinions, put all his friends to work where their credit might beſt prevail; and then entered to the articles at ten a'clock; and remaining till eight at night, diſpatched ſo many affairs, juſt of themſelves, and gracious to the people, as ſerved for powerful inducements to divers of each eſtate to favour his deſires for your Majeſty's ſervice. We are in good hopes to obtain the church articles ratified with the ordinary taxation; our greateſt doubt is of the taxation of annualrents, which many abhor, as a novelty, and a diſcovery of their miſery, and overthrow of their credit,

For preventing of which disturbance, upon the second, at night, a meeting of the articles was appointed to be upon the third, at seven in the morning, to consider of the best expedient, inclining rather to dispense with the extremity, that thereby we may obtain a preparative of an aid wanting all preceding example, and a diversion of opposition to the church articles (which we think more important nor [than] the odds of a trifle of that subsidy) nor [than] by insisting upon a very small difference, in a money matter, to trouble or overthrow a better business. What shall be resolved shall be speedily subjoined to these lines.

Since the writing of what precedes, the Lords of Articles have this morning met and peaceably concluded, extreme diligence will be used to set all men right. The event must be remitted to God, in whose assistance we confide, and beseech him to bless this business, and all your royal desires. And rest,

Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and obedient subject and servant,

MELROS.

Your Majesty's Commissioner expects that his diligence in well-doing will excuse his not writing, which is always natural to him, and now necessary.

Edinburgh, 3d August, 1621.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

YOUR Majeſty's parliament of this your kingdom is this afternoon happily concluded. The church articles had oppoſition; but the well affected prevailed by ſeven and twenty votes; albeit we were exceedingly diſappointed by the treachery of ſome ſmall burrows, who violated their promiſes, and were recompenſed by your Commiſſioner's refuſing to authorize their acts and ratifications.

In the act of the taxation, at firſt, there kythed [appeared] ſome danger, by the voices of lords who granted the ordinary taxation, and refuſed the taxation of annualrents; but my Lord Commiſſioner preſſing them to give anſwer directly, that they either granted or refuſed the act of taxation, ſince it was only one act, the reſt became aſhamed to refuſe; ſo as the oppoſites to that act were ſcarce ten, as the Clerk of Regiſter's incloſed ticket will teſtify*.

* "The votes for the five articles, are threeſcore eighteen; the contrary votes, fifty one. There were but ten votes againſt the taxation."

Other laws and private acts past without contradiction. The conclusion was by a speech of your Majesty's Commissioner, renewing the assurances of your Majesty's constant favour to this nation; your zeal to the defence of pure religion; your earnest desire to relieve your people of burdens; to protect them from violence; to introduce all examples and effects of piety and justice amongst them; to increase trade and commerce; and to exempt them from the grief of the pains of bypast transgressions of statutes imposing pecunial pains; which being a most acceptable farewel to the whole estates, was met with the hearty wishes of all the people for your Majesty's long and prosperous life.

I must not forget the Commissioner's sharp censure of such as had abused the toleration of private meetings of the estates, with advertisement, that the like would not hereafter be suffered. The particular account will be more amply given by larger letters, and by the Dean of Winchester and Lord of Scone, who, so soon as the articles for the church and taxation were ended, they went to their horse, and will relate all particulars, and every man's behaviour. I may truly affirm theirs to have been exceeding faithful and forward, and that your Majesty's Commissioner, by his observing your excellent instructions, has effected the wishes of your faithful servants, and overcome the busy malice and subtilty of the adversaries, which I must assign to the happiness of your royal courses, so well grounded upon wisdom and justice, as

they cannot want ſucceſs. I have thought it would be more agreeable to your Majeſty to know this truth abruptly, nor [than] an more exact report more ſlowly. And, praying for the like proſperity in all your royal affairs, I reſt,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

MELROS.

Edin. 4th Aug. 1621.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ANTONIO DE DOMINIS, ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATO, AFTER HIS DEATH.

THE late Archbiſhop of Spalato being dead, his body was put into a coffin, and that into another bigger coffin well pitched, and was carried *(in depoſito)* into the convent of the holy apoſtles, and committed into the hands of thoſe reverend fathers, until ſuch time as the cauſe of the ſaid Archbiſhop was ended, to the end, that, according to the ſentence, it might be diſpoſed of, as in juſtice ſhould be thought fit. And, in this manner, the ſentence being given, and ready to be put in execution, the ſaid body was taken away in the night the twentieth of this preſent from the place where it was depoſited, being firſt legally reviewed, and was carried into the church of Minerva, and ſet upon a table in an eminent place, with his picture, and a bag of books, ſet forth in print by him, where it ſtood all that night, and the next morning. At the hour appointed, the cardinals of the high inquiſition, being come together, with many others, to the number of ſeventeen or thereabout, (after they had committed to the ſecular power a certain man of Milan, who, under a counterfeit name, and habit of a Grecian, having not taken orders, preſumed to ſay maſs in the holy houſe of Loreto, and in other places, who the twenty-third of this preſent was hanged, and af-

terwards burned) the ſentence of the ſaid Archbiſhop was read in form following. Firſt was rehearſed the manner of his running away; his going into England; the works made by him in word, writing, and print; and how, acknowledging his error, he made ſupplication unto the Pope, that he would willingly return to the boſom of the holy church, and abjure all and every hereſy, if he might be aſſured of his pardon. He came to Rome, performed all that, obtained grace and pardon of the holy father, where he lived a long time; but, becauſe his converſion was feigned, and not ſincere and from his heart, he began, in familiar diſcourſe, to break forth into moſt grievous hereſies, and to maintain whatſoever he ſaid to be true. The inquiſition was informed thereof; and it appeareth by the proceeding againſt him, that he held the hereſies following:

1. That the Council of Trent hath declared many things to be articles of faith which are not.

2. That all the ſects of heretics might have been reduced to one church, if the church of Rome would have yielded in ſome of thoſe things, which, in proceſs of time, it determined to be *de fide*, inſtancing in particular the article of tranſubſtantiation.

3. That there might union be made between the church of Rome and the Proteſtant heretics, agreeing together in the fundamental points.

4. That it may be diſputed whether ſome articles and many things, determined to be *de fide* in

the Council of Trent, were ſufficiently diſcuſſed and defined.

5. That whoſoever holds and believes the fundamental articles, although he hold not the other, is not ſeparated from the church, but is united with it in faith, becauſe only the fundamental and eſſential articles are neceſſary to ſalvation, the others are diſputable.

6. That what the Council of Trent hath defined to be *de fide* in matter of juſtification, predeſtination, grace, and the ſacraments, that they confer grace, *ex opere operato*, doth not appertain unto faith.

7. That he was ready to maintain, even with his life, that all men might *abundare in ſenſu ſuo*, ſo that they agreed *in eſſentialibus fidei*.

8. That the ſupremacy of the Biſhop of Rome is not *de jure divino*, or at leaſt that it may be diſputed whether it is or is not, looking for a definition thereof.

9. That the anathemas of the Council of Trent are no definitions of articles of faith.

10. That the heretics were not condemned in the Council of Trent, becauſe they taught hereſies, but only becauſe they accuſed the church of Rome of hereſy.

11. That to deny tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, adoration of the images of ſaints, is not to deny things which appertain to the ſubſtance of faith, which, becauſe Proteſtants have the true faith, is the true church.

12. That the church of Rome and the church

of England are one and the ſame church, and both the one and the other catholic and orthodox.

13. That it is not *de fide*, that the general council, together with the Pope, is judge of controverſies of faith.

14. That the bond of matrimony, ratified and conſummated, may be diſſolved by adultery of one of the parties.

15. That the bond of matrimony may be diſſolved, even for other cauſes beſides adultery.

16. That a temporal prince may for a reaſonable cauſe decree, that the bond of matrimony, ratified and conſummated, may be diſſolved.

There were alſo other articles, but they are all contained in theſe.

Theſe falſe and heretical propoſitions being read, it was declared how that the kindred of the ſaid Archbiſhop, and whoſoever elſe would come to make defence in the cauſe of the ſaid Archbiſhop, were ſummoned to appear, and that ſome made their appearance within the time limited, who ſeeing the proceeding, and the ſaid Archbiſhop's own confeſſions, did renounce, and would meddle no further; whereupon the ſaid inquiſitors proceeded to judgment, which was to declare him unworthy of the grace of the Holy Apoſtolic See; to deprive him of all honourable degree, benefice and dignity; to confiſcate all his goods, and to put him over to the ſecular power; which then was done; that his picture, and the books made by him, ſhould be burned.

This ſaid ſentence being read, the aforeſaid cof-

ſin, picture, and books, were committed to the Governor of Rome, who was then preſent, and deſired that the body might be again viewed and acknowledged; which was done; whereupon orders were preſently given by the ſaid Governor, that the body, together with thoſe other things, ſhould be carried into the place called Campo di Fiore, to be there burned. But, becauſe they could not find any that would carry it into the ſaid place, the ſerjeants took certain porters, whom they bound, and led them, being ſo bound, to take up the ſaid body, picture, and books, which they carried into Campo di Fiore, where they were ſtraightway burned.

Now, becauſe the ſaid Archbiſhop, in the end of his life, ſhewed himſelf pehitent for the hereſies which he had again held after abjuration, and aſked pardon for them, he was admitted to the holy ſacraments; but, becauſe he was relapſed, he was for that reaſon committed to the ſecular power; which is all that happened in this action.

SUBSTANCE OF SEVERAL MS. PAPERS CONCERNING ANTONIO DE DOMINIS IN THE ADVOCATES LIBRARY AT EDINBURGH.

In a Latin letter to Cyrill, Patriarch of Alexandria, he obſerves, that many of the Weſtern churches, become corrupt through eaſe and luxury, now groaned under Papal thraldom; that he himſelf, born, educated, and dignified under the Roman rod, [*ſub virgâ Romanâ*] had long experienced the antient Aegyptian darkneſs in the Weſtern Aegypt, under that cruel Pharaoh: that at length he was conſtrained to take refuge in the land of Goſhen, where all is light: that this he effected, with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, having arrived almoſt a year ago in England. There he could ſafely and freely contend for the truth; for there the cauſe of Chriſt triumphed under the protection of a moſt religious and wiſe monarch, the true defender of the antient Catholic faith.

He ſends Cyrill his firſt work, *De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ*, as a teſtimony of his earneſt deſire of holding communion with the Greek church. He ſays, that in this work he has defended the Eaſtern churches, eſpecially that of Conſtantinople, and vindicated them from the calumnies of the Romaniſts; that he had aſſerted all the antient rights of the patriarchs; deprived the Biſhop of Rome of his abſolute primacy, and reduced him to his proper rank; that he hoped Cyrill would find in

this work an *antidote* againſt the *weapons* of the Jeſuites. He then entreats him to think ſeriouſly of an union of the Greek churches under his care with the moſt flouriſhing church of England; for, ſays he, ſuch an union being once made, we ſhall eaſily prevail over Pharaoh, or rather over Antichriſt, and remove his tyranny from the church of our Lord. He concludes, with exhorting Cyrill to communicate whatever difficulties he might have as to this union, either to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or to him, the writer, and to exert his utmoſt efforts *for extinguiſhing a ſchiſm ſo inveterate.*

What anſwer was returned to this letter does not appear; but there is a letter of compliment from Cyrill to Archbiſhop Abbot, dated 16th July, wherein much is ſaid in commendation of the church of England, and of *ſuaviſſimus Jacobus*, as Cyrill terms the King.

From a paper intitled, "Manifeſto of the Arch-"biſhop of Spalato," it appears that he was invited and encouraged in the name of the Pope and of the King of Spain to leave England.

The following particulars are collected from a letter written by him, upon his return to Rome, to one of his nephews. Having obtained a paſsport from King James, by the good offices of the Imperial miniſter, he left London. The cuſtom-houſe officers ſeized his ſilver-plate, and part of his money; but the King ordered reſtitution to be made. On payment of a 1000 crowns, the Archbiſhop got back his ſilver-plate; but his money,

to the value of 2500 crowns, he never recovered.

On his arrival at Bruſſels, he was entertained by the Pope's Nuntio, in conſequence of orders from his Holineſs, and received by him into the boſom of the church.

After a reſidence of ſome months in the Low Countries, he ſet out for Italy. His train in horſes, coaches, and attendants, was magnificent; and the fooliſh old Archbiſhop deſcribes it with all the minuteneſs and exultation which might have been expected from ſome low-born girl, newly put in poſſeſſion of titles and equipage.

In his journey through the dominions of different Roman Catholic princes he was treated with much reſpect; and, on his arrival in the Papal territories, with diſtinguiſhed marks of honour, *paſſando ſempre*, as he ſays himſelf, *con la mia famiglia honorata e cavalli che facevano ſtupire etiam i grandi.*

At Rome he was lodged near the reſidence of the Pope, had a maintenance allowed for himſelf and his domeſtics, and one of the coaches of the Cardinal nephew conſtantly at his diſpoſal. He adds, that he was well looked upon, beloved, and careſſed by all.

The next account of him is from a place, *from whoſe bourn no traveller returns*,—from the priſon of the Inquiſition. There he ſeems to have had the cruel taſk impoſed upon him, of confuting his own works, "Il Padre Commiſſario del ſant' offi-" zio, ſays he, m'aviſó d'ordine, come diſſe, di " S. Santita ch'io portaſſi le vere et efficaci ſolu-" zioni, che doveſſero ſoddisfar à pieno anco gli

" eretici. Adunque vedevano, ch'io diceva il ve-
" ro, che molti argomenti non erano dagli ſcrit-
" tori Catolici à baſtanza ſciolti, ſe bene erano
" ſolubili, et io li ſciogliero tutti con l'aiuto di
" Dio. E ne ho già dato ſaggio nel primo mio
" libro delle Retrattazioni già apparecchiato e mo-
" ſtrato, nel quale ſcioglio il grande argomento
" della equalità tra gli apoſtoli tutti, non mai
" fin 'ora à baſtanza ſciolto da alcuno ſcrittore
" Catolico, e coſi farò de gli altri: perche ſe ben
" è vero, che molti argomenti miei non ſono ſtati
" ſciolti, non perciò io profeſſo, che ſiano inſolu-
" bili, ch'io nelle Retrattazioni m'offeriſco di ſci-
" orli tutti."

It appears, however, from the narrative of the Archbiſhop's ſentence, that neither his learned recantations, nor his profeſſions of orthodoxy, could ſatisfy the reverend fathers of the Inquiſition.

Too much, perhaps, has been ſaid concerning a perſon, whoſe fame greatly exceeded his literary and controverſial merit. From his hiſtory, men may be apt to conclude, that the importation of proſelytes from the Romiſh church is no very beneficial trade; and that to confer diſtinguiſhed favours, and heap preferments on one whoſe ſincerity is not well-tried, is a meaſure neither juſt nor politic.

EARL OF MELROS,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

TO

KING JAMES.

MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN,

THE letter written by James Douglas, by your Majeſty's direction, to the Lord Chancellor and me, advertiſing us of his Highneſs's ſudden journey to Spain, being ſent by my Lord Chancellor to me, I no ſooner underſtood thereby your royal pleaſure, that ſiniſter rumours of that unexpected reſolution might be ſuppreſſed, and as little ſpeech of it diſperſed as could be; but, foreſeeing that ſermons were to be made the next day in all the churches of the town, I preſently ſent for Mr. William Struthers, and directed him to warn all his colleagues to forbear all mention of that matter, till, by better occaſion of knowledge of your Majeſty's will, they might underſtand how to behave themſelves dutifully in a purpoſe of ſuch moment. And, incontinent thereafter, I diſpatched letters to the Archbiſhops to take the like order with the miniſters of their provinces, which was all, that, in a caſe ſo much perplexing my mind, I could conceive to be moſt fit to effect your Majeſty's pleaſure; albeit, I fear it ſhall not work ſo fully as I could wiſh, becauſe the abuſe of the poſts, of whoſe ſlowneſs I have many times com-

plained, has, in this occaſion, anſwered my apprehenſion. For that letter ſent to us, being directed from New-market, by packet, for life, the 21ſt of February, at eight at night, came not to me till the firſt of March, at ſix at night. The information of his Highneſs's journey being known here two days ſooner, as well by letters from London, as by relation of ſuch as came from London to this town by ſea. By which means the rumour being ſo diſperſed, nothing now reſteth, but to make the beſt conſtructions that may be thought of, till we ſhall know your Majeſty's particular directions, which I humbly deſire may be with diligence. And, in the mean time, I ſhall add to my inceſſant prayers, for your Majeſty's long and conſtant proſperity, my faithful and hearty petitions to God, that his Highneſs's journey, fraughted with our fears for the great travel and manifold dangers incident to that paſſage and return, may tend to his honour and ſafety, and your Majeſty's contentment; and ſhall till my death remain,

Your ſacred Majeſty's

moſt humble, faithful,

and bound ſubject and ſervant,

MELROS.

Edinburgh, 3d March,
1623.

EARL OF BRISTOL TO KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I MUST confeſs, I am ſo much tranſported, firſt with admiration, then with joy, of the ſafe arrival of the Prince and my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, that I know I ſhall have need to begin this letter with an apology for a diſtracted diſpatch. But I conceive the good news which it will carry in the front, that both the Prince and my Lord Marquis are ſafe and well, and were never merrier in their lives, will excuſe all defects.

Upon Friday, which was the 7th of this month, about eight of the clock at night, the Prince and my Lord of Buckingham, without any other company but their poſtilion, arrived at my houſe, where my Lord Marquis meeting at the door with Henry Jermin, a ſon of Sir Thomas Jermin's, told him that his name was Smith, and that he had met my ſervant Greſly by the way, who had fallen into thieves hands, by whom he had been very ill uſed, and had all his letters taken away; that he had promiſed to come and tell me of it; but excuſed his coming up to ſee me; for that he ſaid he had got a fall, and hurt one of his legs, ſo that he could not come up ſtairs, but with great pain. Whilſt H. Jermin was making this relation unto me, Sim. Digby went to ſee who it was,

and knew my Lord of Buckingham, but diſſembled it ſo well, that before I could come to him, he had got him up to his chamber, and went preſently down to the Prince (who ſtood all this while in the ſtreet with his poſtilion) and brought him likewiſe ſo handſomely up to his chamber, that there I found them both together, and we carried the buſineſs ſo dextrouſly, that that night they were undiſcovered by any, till the next morning, by the coming of Mr. Secretary Cottington and Endimion Porter, the ſecret was revealed, for as much as concerned my Lord of Buckingham: and that morning I ſent word unto the Conde of Gondemar, that my Lord of Buckingham was come, who preſently apprehended, that the Prince was not far off, and came home to my houſe to viſit my Lord Marquis, of whoſe being here the Conde of Olivares having likewiſe gotten notice, ſent to deſire leave to come and viſit him, but my Lord of Buckingham very earneſtly excuſing it, about four of the clock in the afternoon the Conde ſent a coach for him, wherein went only my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aſton, and myſelf, by a private way into the Park, where we found the Conde of Olivares expecting us, and there he ſat in the coach with my Lord of Buckingham, and entertained him almoſt an hour and a half, within which time there paſſed ſo much expreſſion of joy, and ſo great a declaration of a grateful acceptation of this action, as I dare confidently ſay unto your Majeſty, that whatſoever I have formerly written of their profeſſions, hath

been by many degrees exceeded, as I doubt not but your Majeſty will receive from my Lord of Buckingham's pen. Then the Conde had us up by a back way into the King's private rooms, where my Lord Marquis had audience of the King, who received my Lord with ſo much alacrity and freeneſs, that I never ſaw the Spaniſh gravity laid aſide before, nor any man more overtaken with joy than the King was; for he ſecretly underſtood of the Prince's being here. I ſhall only in this particular ſay thus much, (leaving the reſt unto my Lord) that they then parted, the King much ſatisfied with my Lord, and he infinitely admiring the young King. Afterwards the Conde of Olivares deſired leave of the King, that he might come along with us, and kiſs the Prince his hands, (as he did) and there to the Prince himſelf made the ſame profeſſions he had unto my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, and would by no means cover himſelf before the Prince, but made ſo great expreſſions of reſpect and the eſteem which both the King and his miniſters held themſelves obliged to make of the honour which they had received by this his coming, that I preſume his Highneſs remained very much contented and ſatisfied therewith; and though I muſt confeſs, ingenuouſly, that if your Majeſty had been pleaſed to aſk my advice concerning the Prince his coming in this manner, I ſhould rather have diſſuaded than given any ſuch counſel, eſpecially before the coming of the diſpenſation: yet, ſince it hath pleaſed God,

that he is ſo ſafely arrived, and that by theſe good beginnings, there are ſo great hopes of good ſucceſs, I cannot but account it a happineſs, and ſhall, by God's aſſiſtance, contribute faithfully and induſtriouſly all that ſhall be in me, for the bringing of this great work unto perfection, with as much ſpeed as may be. That very night my Lord Marquis having intimated the great deſire the Prince had as ſoon as might be to ſee his miſtreſs, they acquainted the King therewith, who was ſo forward therein, that notwithſtanding that the next day was Sunday, and in Lent, yet he diſpenſed with his gravity, ſo far as to go in a coach abroad, to a place called the Prado, which is a hole without the town, where men do take the air, with his ſiſter with him, and all the court, where the Prince was to ſtand diſguiſed in a coach to ſee them. The Prince had with him in the coach my Lord Marquis, the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aſton, myſelf, and Endimion Porter, and we were guided by the Conde of Gondemar, who brought the Prince to ſuch a part where the King was to paſs by; and ſo we were removed three ſeveral times, that the Prince had a full ſight of them all. As the King was going homewards, the Conde of Olivares leapt out of the coach he was in, and came running into the Prince his coach to wait on him, and ſo gave three or four turns in the coach, and then attended him into my houſe, where he told the Prince, that the King, his maſter, had not patience to abſtain lon-

ger from seeing him, and acknowledging with his own mouth the great honour which by this his coming he had done him, and desired that he might come that night home to the Prince. But thereunto his Highness would by no means condescend, but said he would rather go to the palace privately to see the King. But both of these courses being in courtesy refused on the one part and the other, it was in the end resolved, that late in the night they should meet in the Prado. And because it was night, the Conde of Olivares said, merrily, that his master must come equally accompanied; and that the Prince being like to bring with him two ambassadors and his secretary, he would take away my Lord of Buckingham and Porter for interpreter with him; and that they should come as Spaniards with the King; with this company only the King came to the Prado; with the Prince went the Conde of Gondemar, Sir Walter Aston, myself, and Mr. Cottington; when we came there, we found the King, who presently lighted out of his coach, and met the Prince, and then they saluted one another with as much courtesy as was possible; and they presently entered into the King's coach alone, where I served as interpreter betwixt them; and, after much striving in courtesy, who should give the place, which the King constrained the Prince to take, I can assure your Majesty, that greater professions or acknowledgments could not proceed from a prince than were made unto his Highness

by the King, as I doubt not but from his Highneſs your Majeſty will underſtand. Having ſpent half an hour, or thereabouts, in diſcourſe, the King would needs bring the Prince to his coach on foot, which the Prince would not permit, but could not hinder him from going more than half way. And this is the account which I can give your Majeſty of what hath paſſed till after twelve of the clock in the night upon Sunday the ninth of March, when, God be thanked, both the Prince and my Lord Marquis were very merry, and in perfect health. And I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to pardon me, that I have ſo long deferred the diſpatching of a poſt to advertiſe you of the Prince his ſafe arrival, which I would have done at the very inſtant, but that both his Highneſs and my Lord Marquis were not pleaſed that I ſhould ſend away any body till they had ſomewhat to write. But hereafter, God willing, I will never let many days paſs together, without giving your Majeſty an account of the Prince his health, and of the further progreſs of theſe ſo comfortable and good beginnings.

I will conclude with telling your Majeſty only this, that for the ſucceſs it is in the hands of God; and I am glad that I was kept ignorant of the courſe that hath been taken; for that I ſhould as much as I might directly have proteſted againſt it. But if it ſhall pleaſe God, that things do end as happily as they have begun hopefully, I ſhall think that God hath therein had his particular work-

ing much beyond any human prudency, and ſo wiſhing unto your Majeſty all happineſs, I moſt humbly recommend you to the holy protection of God. And reſt,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

and moſt faithful ſubject and ſervant,

BRISTOL.

Madrid, the 10th of March,
1622. St. Vet.

EARL OF CARLILE TO KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCEL. MAJESTY,

IT will not be diſpleaſing to your Majeſty, if I repeat again the ſame thing, which I pray God may be the *refrein* of all my letters; and that is, that as his Highneſs was never in more perfect health, ſo his carriage is to the ſingular admiration of this court and people; and I am confident, that when it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore him again into England, he will declare to have made ſo great good uſe of the experience of this journey, as ſhall give no leſs cauſe of rejoicing to them that were moſt tenderly affected, than they ſhewed to have before of apprehenſion. In the mean time, I dare boldly aſſure your Majeſty, that his well-grounded piety and knowledge of the religion wherein he was bred, is infinitely confirmed and corroborated by the ſpectacles which he hath ſeen of their devotions here. And your Majeſty's moſt excellent ſervant, my Lord Admiral, doth carry himſelf with ſuch nobleneſs, wiſdom, and vigilance in your Majeſty's ſervice, as his virtues do illuſtrate your Majeſty's glory and wiſdom, in making choice of ſo worthy an object of your favour*.

* Wretched, indeed, is the condition of princes, when

And now I will caſt myſelf, in all humble reverence, at your Majeſty's feet, to kiſs your royal hands, in acknowledgment of your gracious favours to my ſon and myſelf ſince my departure. I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to believe that you have ſowed in a fruitful ſoil, which ſhall render you a plentiful harveſt of reverence, humility, loyalty, and love, which ſhall laſt as long as we live. I am, and ſo will die,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble,

moſt obedient, and

moſt obliged creature,

ſubject and ſervant,

CARLILE.

Madrid, the 5th of April,
1623.

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their greateſt and moſt inexcuſable weakneſſes are not only juſtified but applauded.

SECRETARY COTTINGTON TO KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

You do ſo many ways underſtand all that paſſeth here, as nothing is left for this your Majeſty's poor, humble, and faithful ſervant to tell you; and yet I may peradventure light upon ſome paſſages which others have not.

This King's love to the Prince, my maſter, ſeems every day to increaſe; he is continually with him, and ſays often, that he will one day follow him to London; and this morning he ſaid, that he deſired nothing ſo much as to ſee your Majeſty. The little Cardinal Don Ferdinando is ſtrangely enamoured of the Prince, and his Highneſs with the Cardinal, ſo as they have much ado to keep the Cardinal from him any time of the day.

I was interpreter for my Lord Marquis when he ſpoke with the Infanta Dona Maria. She inquired for your Majeſty's health before ſhe would hear any thing elſe. But when my Lord came to ſpeak of the Prince, ſhe bluſhed extremely; and his Highneſs hath ſince ſpoken with her himſelf (having often ſeen her) and likes her ſo well, as without all doubt ſhe will be with child before ſhe get into England, though they make never ſo much haſte. Others will tell your Majeſty the good news we have from Rome, and more particularly you

will underſtand it (and all) by my Lord of Carliſe's relation; for the Prince is reſolved to ſend him inſtantly to your Majeſty; and it is not here amiſs to tell you, that my Lord of Carliſe is much in love with this court, and with this people, amongſt whom is ſo general a rejoicing for the Prince his being here, as cannot well be expreſſed.——Every day hath new entertainments and ſport. But nothing hath ſo much joyed our heart as the good news of your Majeſty's health, without which all would be ſadneſs and affliction. My Lord Marquis often drinks your Majeſty's health, with ſo much contentment to ſpeak of you, and to remember you, as the tears fall from his eyes, for which I am his ſlave, and do heartily pray for him, and ſerve him with all the poor means I have.

No hour paſſeth in which I do not remember how much I am bound to ſpend my life in doing your Majeſty the leaſt ſervice in the world; and God Almighty knows that I deſire nothing more than an occaſion for it; and the advertiſement which is given me of your Majeſty's moſt gracious favour and care towards my poor wife, puts yet a greater obligation on me, if it were poſſible; and here I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to continue that comfort to that poor deſolate woman, with whom I remained only four days, and came this journey, without telling her whither I went, notwithſtanding I love her as much as a man can love a woman. I hear ſhe is extremely afflicted; and ſo it appears by her letters.

Beſeeching the Almighty God ever to bleſs and proſper your Majeſty, I reſt,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſervant,

FRA. COTTINGTON.

Madrid, the 8th of April,
1623, Stylo Vet.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.*

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I SHALL make you wonder at a reſolution I have taken never to enquire more after your health; you can bear me witneſs, that I have never given credit to thoſe that undertake to have the philoſopher's ſtone, eſpecially when they become takers themſelves, as my devil hath now proved himſelf; if he blow as profitably with all the world beſides as he hath done with me, he will have little need of the philoſopher's ſtone; yet, if all be true he hath aſſured to me, I ſhall think my four hundred pound well beſtowed: I confeſs, ſo long as he concealed the means he wrought by, I deſpiſed all he ſaid; but when he told me, that which he hath given your Soveraignſhip, to preſerve you from all ſickneſs ever hereafter, was extracted out of a t——, I admired the fellow; and for theſe reaſons, that, being a ſtranger to you, yet he had found out the kind you are come of, and your natural affections and appetite, and ſo, like a ſkilful

* From a multitude of the Duke's letters to King James, preſerved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, the following are ſelected as the moſt curious and characteriſtical. Their general addreſs is, *To the beſt of maſters.*

man, hath given you natural phyſic, which is the only means to preſerve the radical humour. And thus I conclude, my ſow * is healthful, my devil's lucky, myſelf is happy, and needs no more than your bleſſing, which is my true philoſopher's ſtone, upon which I build as on a rock.

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

Here is a gentleman called Sir Francis Leake, who hath likewiſe a philoſopher's ſtone; 'tis worth but eight thouſand; he will give it me, if you will make him a baron; I will, if you command not the contrary, have his patent ready for you to ſign, when I come down; he is of good religion, well born, and hath a good eſtate. I pray you burn this letter.

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* From a letter preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, it appears, that *Sow* was the familiar appellation given to King James, as that of *Dog* was to his favourite.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE ſent this mettled poſt to be an eye-witneſs of your ſecond day's hunting, if want of ſleep will give him leave, having undertaken to ride all night, to hunt with you all day, and be with me before ſupper back again, ſo that wearineſs do not prevent him; I hear you have got a good ſtomach ſince your being there; but I fear your liberality doth not give you leave to eat a good bit, being well acquainted with that old cuſtom of yours of ever giving away the beſt. We both have fed of nothing elſe; and though they have all proved fat and tender, yet not being eaten at your ſonſy * lucky table, they wanted that ſauce which makes all ſavoury. Let this bearer bring me news of your health and mirth; and then I crave no more but your bleſſing for

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

* The Scottiſh word *ſonſy*, anſwers preciſely to the modern Engliſh word *jolly*.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I have received three or four letters from you ſince I wrote laſt, yet, as Tom Badger ſays, I am not behind-hand with you; for I have made a hundred anſwers to them in my mind; yet none that could ſatisfy my mind; for kinder letters never ſervant received from maſter; and for ſo great a King to deſcend ſo low, as to his humbleſt ſlave and ſervant, to communicate himſelf in a ſtyle of ſuch good-fellowſhip, with expreſſions of more care than ſervants have of maſters, than phyſicians have of their patients, (which hath largely appeared to me in ſickneſs and in health) of more tenderneſs than fathers have of children, of more friendſhip than between equals, of more affection than between lovers of the beſt kind, man and wife, what can I return! nothing but ſilence; for if I ſpeak, I muſt be ſawcy, and ſay this, or ſhort of what is due, my purveyor, my good fellow, my phyſician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all, I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I have. Judge what unequal language this is in itſelf, but eſpecially conſidering the thing that muſt ſpeak it, and the perſon to whom it muſt be ſpoken. Now, tell me whether I have not done diſcreetly, to be

ſilent all this while; 'tis time I ſhould be ſo again, or elſe commit a fault in wearying him, that never wearies to do me good. Then thus I'll end. I begin my journey to-morrow. I ſhall have the Prince to wait of. We ſhall ly at Theobalds. The one will hunt hinds and does, the other ſurvey the trees, walks, ponds, and deer. The next day after lay ourſelves at your feet, there crave your bleſſing; then give an account of Theobalds's park to the beſt of men, though not of the kind of man, yet made by man, more than man, like a man, both artificial man, and my moſt natural Sovereign, who, by innumerable favours, hath made me,

Your Majeſty's

both humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

YESTERDAY we got hither ſo early, that I had time to ſee over a good part of my works here. This afternoon I will ſee the reſt. I proteſt to God, the chiefeſt pleaſure I have in them, is, that I hope they will pleaſe you, and that they have all come by and from you. I am now going to give my redeemer thanks for my maker. The afternoon I will ſpend in viewing the reſt. To-morrow the ———— * threaten to be early up, being of my mind impatient to be with you, we ſhall have need of a coach of yours or BABIE CHARLES, to make the way ſhort. I could write to the equeries to ſend them to Thurlo, ſeven miles on this ſide New-market; but I will be beholden to none but my kind maſter and purveyor, who never failed me when I had need; therefore beſtir thee, and [two words illegible] duty. I will give no thanks for nothing till I may do it on my knees; ſo I crave your bleſſing, as

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,
STINIE.

* He means his mother and his wife, but the expreſſion which he uſes is incredibly groſs. The ſame expreſſion is repeated in other of his letters. When the Editor ſaid, that the Duke "uſed the figure of *pars pro toto*, well

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I HAVE ſent Watt Montague this morning into France with the copy of theſe things you reſolved of with the French ambaſſador, that our ambaſſadors may no more complain for want of timely advertiſements. The Spaniſh agent will be with me before I can have well ended this letter, Gondemar's man was with me this morning. The diſcourſe I had with him, I am ſure will not only be pleaſing to you, but make you laugh; the moſt part of the morning I ſpent with the French ambaſſador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore he hath earneſtly entreated me to ſtay this day in town, as likewiſe to ſee that diſpatch he will ſend into France: he makes no queſtion of an anſwer from thence anſwerable to your heart's deſire: I confeſs I believe it, and the rather becauſe I know they dare do no otherwiſe; and I am ſure you now begin to laugh in your ſleeve to ſee yourſelf ſo courted of all ſides, and that all their actions turn ſo to your advantage*. Dear Dad,

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" known in vulgar rhetoric," he had the misfortune not to be underſtood by ſome of his *readers!*

* The common language of ſhallow ſtateſmen to credulous and ignorant kings.

ſince I cannot come to-night, let this haſty letter give thanks for the true, favourable, and moſt affectionate interpretation of my ſtaying here; and God never relieve me when I have moſt need of it, if it be not a ſeparating of myſelf when I am from you; and in lieu of having comfort and my heart eaſe by you, to ſerve you, I give myſelf nothing but trouble and vexation. To-morrow, without fail, I will wait of you, and, if it be poſſible, bring *my mother and wife* with me. In the mean time, for much take a little, which is my humble thanks, for not only cloathing my outſide, but filling my in, and with ſuch precious bits, as was only fit for you, but will proſper the better when you add this. I humbly crave your bleſſing, as

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

As neceſſity enforces me, inſtead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promiſe, to go many miles from you another way, and conſequently from myſelf, all my perfect joys and pleaſures chiefly, nay ſolely, conſiſting in attending your perſon; ſo methinks duty and good manners commands me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet ſomething unſteady and weak. But, before I give the reaſons of the change of my former reſolution, there is a thing not much in exerciſe now in this world, called Thankfulneſs, that calls ſo faſt and earneſtly upon me, that I muſt firſt, though I have already done it by the aſſiſtance of a young gentleman, called BABIE CHARLES, whom you likewiſe, by your good offices, made my friend, who, without doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks than I ſhall myſelf, yet, having the pen in my hand, I muſt needs tell you what I obſerve in your late abſent and public favour, but antient manner of obliging your poor unworthy ſervant, whereby I find you ſtill one and the ſame dear and indulgent maſter you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me yourſelf, but to labour all manner

of way to make the whole world do ſo too. Beſides, this aſſures me, you truſt me as abſolutely, as ever, largely expreſt in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwiſe why ſhould you thus ſtudy to endear me with the upper and lower houſe of parliament, and ſo conſequently with your whole kingdom; all, and the leaſt I can ſay, is this, that I naturally ſo love your perſon, and upon ſo good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world beſides ſet together on one ſide, and you alone on the other, I ſhould, to obey and pleaſe you, diſpleaſe, nay deſpiſe all them, and this ſhall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here to uſe your own proverb, For this the devil con me thanks. The reaſons of my going to Newhall, are theſe, firſt, I find buſineſs, and the ſight of buſy folks, does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care, and watchful eye over me, would keep them from ſpeaking with me, yet in a court I muſt needs look many of them in the face; then Theobalds houſe is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms, both inconvenient to a ſick body; then my Lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague as any in England, and that lately he loſt one by the benefit of that air, I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear, I have troubled you; and were it not that I write to you, I am ſure I ſhould have wearied myſelf. I have

how only one requeſt to you, as you firſt placed me in your BABIE CHARLES's good opinion, if you think fit, for your ſervice, in my abſence, continue me in it, and ſo give me your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I DO not know what fault I have made of late, that you ſhould take ſo cruel a revenge of me, as to put me in the fear your laſt but one letter did. I am too far behind-hand to let the quarrel reſt ſo; though in your laſt you made a propoſition full of affection, if I may call it by ſo ſawcy a name; you are now in the place of love; therefore, for that reſpect, I will now forbear you; but when you are off of that ground, look to yourſelf. I hope to have the happineſs to-morrow to kiſs your hands; therefore I will not ſend you that letter you writ to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert; when he delivered it to me, he made this requeſt, that he hoped your Majeſty would as well truſt him in the letter you were now to write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to diſſemble it; but, when there was no means to do it, I thought beſt to ſeem to truſt him abſolutely, thereby the better to tie him to ſecrecy. If this be a lie, as I am ſure it is, then you may begin to think, that, with a little more ſtudy, I may cry Quittance; ſo I crave your bleſſing. Your Majeſty's

humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

THOUGH I writ laſt night, yet I think it not amiſs to add one word more, to expreſs myſelf more particularly: my Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath aſſured me, having had it out of the Pope's own mouth, that the diſpenſation is granted free and unclogged. He further adds, that after he had, in a rough manner, ſpoke with the Nuntio at Paris, in ſo much that he told he would complain of him preſently to his Holineſs, he anſwered him calmly thus, and with ſome expreſſions of fear, that he ſhould do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he ſhould quickly ſee through the buſineſs, and have no cauſe to complain; all this I have told d'Effiat, but under the roſe. I likewiſe told him, you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France, and your royal frank monſieurs. I told him alſo, I had orders to ſet a ſhort day for the aſſembling of the parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spaniſh agent came to viſit me, that I ſhould, upon pain of your diſpleaſure, not only uſe him civilly, but kindly. He anſwered me impatiently and confuſedly, what, cannot one make a trial of gaining better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Where-

upon I told him, I did not think they did intend to break; nay, that I did not think there [was] an occaſion; beſides, the ties of honour and honeſty would not give them leave, but I was ſorry and aſhamed, that ſo unſeaſonably, after all things were performed to their deſire, nay, more than they could have imagined; witneſs the aſſiſtance of ſhipping, the hearty profeſſions of my maſter, as well by letter as thoſe verbal compliments he ſent by Monſieur la Riviere, and now at the time when acknowledgments at the leaſt, if not requitals, ſhould have come, with greedy gluttonous appetites, to ſeek to ſurfeit on the forbidden tree, can receive no cleanlier an interpretation than to have come from an unreaſonable, unjuſt, falſe, and unmannerly appetite; and thus you have ended *avec la bonne bouche;* but I thought in my mind ſh—— mouths. I pray you, Sir, do not kiſs that word, nor bewray for want of bold and abſolute language, a good buſineſs. I ended with Monſieur thus, your maſter acknowledges he hath already the ſubſtance of what he deſires, though I know the contrary; the Pope is to receive ſatisfaction not from my maſter, but yours. Now, then, let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain muſt really be cozened; let the Pope do that, ſince he can as well pardon himſelf as all the world. The Pope ſeemingly muſt be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the moſt Chriſtian King, and ſo may the eaſilier obtain a pardon; my maſter will neither be cozened, nor cozen; wherefore the moſt Chriſtian King muſt conſcionably

undertake to his Holineſs, for as much as may cozen Spain, France, and Rome, who may not for their union be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt *. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more; if you pleaſe, treat as little as may be, and roundly let the ambaſſador know, you ſo much prize your honour, that neither in a circumſtance nor form will you make any alteration, and ſet your ambaſſadors a ſhort peremptory day for an anſwer; if it prove good, I ſhall be as ſoon ready to go from hence as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your ambaſſadors as ſpeedily come away; for never admit of new journies to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mall's compliment to me: Lord Father, I love you well! Lord Father, I will die for you! So I crave your bleſſing, as

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

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* This expreſſion, which is as dull as it is profane, would certainly have been omitted, had the fidelity due by a tranſcriber to the public allowed it.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

DEAR DAD AND GOSSIP,

I DID hope to have got out of town to-morrow, but by reaſon of new diſcoveries my brother hath made of a witchcraft, I am forced to crave leave to ſtay till Monday or Tueſday, otherwiſe, by leaving him in the midſt of his troubles, I ſhould give him too juſt cauſe to think I cared no more for him than to ſerve my turns of him.

I confeſs, there is yet too much to do concerning my preparations for France; and God forbid I ſhould, by my neglect, make that longer in doing which hath been already too long undone, the marriage of the Prince. The want of monies in your exchequer makes me now want the happineſs to wait of you; for, as yet, I have not received one penny; but of this I'll trouble you no more, it being now ready, as I am ever to receive your bleſſing, which now I crave, as

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STINIE.

Both Kate, Mall, and I, humbly thank the good man Purveyor, for his preſents of all kinds.

DUTCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR MAJESTIE,

I HAVE receved the two boxes of drid ploms and graps, and the box of violatt caks, and chickens; for all which I moſt humbly thank your Majeſtie.

I hope my Lord Anan * has tould your Majeſtie, that I did mean to wene Mall very ſhortly. I wood not by any mens a-don it, till I had furſt made your Majeſtie acquanted with it; and by reaſon my cuſen Bret's boy has binne ill of latt, for fere ſhee ſhould greeve and ſpyle her milk, maks me very deſiorous to wene her; and I thinke ſhee is ould enufe, and I hope will endure her wening very well; for I thinke there was never child card leſs for the breſt than ſhee dos; ſo I do entend to make triall this night how ſhee will endure it. This day, praying for your Majeſtie's health and longe life, I humbly take my leave.

Your Majeſty's
moſt humbell ſarvant,
K. BUCKINGHAM.

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* The perſon intruſted with this important commiſſion, concerning the weaning of Mall, was Sir John Murray of the Bed-Chamber, created Viſcount Annan by K. James.

THE DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF LENOX TO KING JAMES.

MY SOVEREIGN LORD,

ACCORDING to your Majeſty's gracious pleaſure, ſignified unto me, I have ſent a young man to attend you, accompanied with a widow's prayers and tears, that he may wax old in your Majeſty's ſervice; and in his fidelity and affection may equal his anceſtors departed: ſo ſhall he find grace and favour in the eyes of my lord the King; which will revive the dying hopes, and raiſe the dejected ſpirits, of a comfortleſs mother,

Your Majeſty's

moſt humble ſervant,

KA. LENOX.*

* The daughter and heir of Gervaſe Lord Leightoun, the widow of Eſme third Duke of Lenox, and the mother of many heroes. The reader, after having peruſed ſo many letters of flatterers and politicians, will be relieved with the elegant ſimplicity of this billet.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

KING JAMES TO THE EARL OF MARR.†

RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED COUSIN AND COUNSELLOR, WE GREET YOU RIGHT HEARTILY WELL.

HAVING underſtood, as well by your own declaration made to the council, which you deſired ſhould by them be ſignified unto us, as by your own letter upon your duty and alledgeance, that ſome of our ſubjects had an intention to have taken our deareſt ſon the Prince, if he had come from Stirling to the Torwood; and conſidering the ſame to be a purpoſe of no little conſequence, that it cannot be let paſs, but meriting due trial and condign puniſhment, which cannot be well proſecuted, except you come hither in perſon to give us up the names of the perſons who ſhould have been of the ſaid conſpiracy, that we may thereafter proceed in their trial. It is therefore our will, that ye fail not, all excuſes ſet aſide, to

† This paper, and the two following papers, were communicated, in the moſt obliging manner, to the Editor by James Ereskine, Eſq; Advocate.

addreſs yourſelf hither, in all poſſible diligence, to the effect foreſaid; for, ſeeing ye have ſet down the accuſation ſo clearly, we intend to proceed with no leſs care in the trial and puniſhment thereof. As for our letter, ſent by you, to our deareſt bed-fellow, although you have done nothing in the not delivery thereof but according to our direction; yet, ſince the contents thereof are not of ſo great conſequence as they are particular, and not fit to come into every man's hands, it is our will, that, for the better ſatisfaction, ye deliver the ſame to any of the council, to be given to her and diſpoſed upon as ſhe pleaſeth, in caſe ſhe continue in that willfulneſs, as ſhe will not hear your credit, nor receive the ſame from your own hands. In all other things, concerning the tranſporting of our ſon, ye ſhall diſpoſe yourſelf according as our couſin, the Duke of Lennox, will particularly acquaint you to that which is our pleaſure, and adviſe with him carefully upon our honour and his ſurety. To whoſe ſufficiency remitting the reſt, and looking for yourſelf in all haſte, we bid you farewell. From our palace at Greenitch the 13th May, 1603.

JAMES R.

KING JAMES
TO
QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

MY HEART,

IMMEDIATELY before the receipt of your letter I was purpoſed to have written unto you, and that without any great occaſion, except for freeing myſelf at your hands from the imputation of ſwearneſs, [unwillingneſs,] but now your letter has given more matter to write, although I take ſmall delight to meddle in ſo unpleaſant a proceſs.—I wonder that your long knowledge of my nature, nor my late earneſt purgation unto you, cannot cure you of that rooted error, that any living dare ſpeak or inform me in any ways to your prejudice; or yet, that ye can think they are your unfriends that are true ſervants to me. I can ſay no more, but proteſt, upon the peril of my ſalvation and damnation, that neither the Earl of Marr, nor any fleſh living, ever informed me that ye was upon any Papiſh or Spaniſh courſe, or that ye had any thoughts, but a wrong conceived opinion that he had claimed more intereſt in your ſon, or would not deliver him unto you; neither does he farther charge the noblemen that was [with] you there, but that he was informed, that ſome of them thought by force to have aſſiſted you in the taking my ſon out of his hands; but as for any other Papiſt or foreign practice, by

God, he does not ſo much as alledge it; therefore, he ſays, he will never preſume to accuſe them, ſince it may happen well to import your offence. And therefore I ſay over again, leave theſe froward womanly apprehenſions, for I thank God, I carry that love and reſpect unto you, which, by the law of God and nature, I ought to do to my wife and mother of my children, but not for that ye are a king's daughter; for whether ye were a king or a cook's daughter, ye muſt be all alike to me, ſince my wife. For the reſpect of your honourable birth, and deſcent, I married you, but the love and reſpect I now bear you, is becauſe that ye are my married wife, and ſo partaker of my honour, as of my other fortunes. I beſeech you excuſe my plainneſs in this, for caſting up of your birth is a needleſs impertinent argument to me; God is my witneſs, I ever preferred you to my bairns, much more than to a ſubject. But if you will ever again give place to the report of flattering ſycophants, that will perſuade you, when I account well of an honeſt and wiſe ſervant, for his true faithful ſervice to me, that it is to compare or prefer him to you, then will never you nor I be ever again at reſt or peace. I have, according to my promiſe, copied ſo much of that plot, whereof I wrote unto ye in my laſt, as did concern my ſon and you, which herein is incloſed†, that ye may ſee I wrote it not without cauſe, but I deſire it not to have any ſe-

† The paper here referred to is not found.

cretaries than yourſelf. As for your doole [lamentation] made concerning it, it is utterly impertinent at this time, for ſic [ſuch] reaſons as the bearer will ſhow unto you, whom I have likewiſe commanded to impart divers other points unto you, which, for fear of wearying your eyes with my rugged hand I have herein omitted. Praying God, my heart, to preſerve you and all the bairns, and to ſend me a blyth meeting with you, and a couple of them,

Your own,

JAMES. R.

KING JAMES TO THE EARL OF MARR.

MY LORD,

YOU remember at your laſt parting from me, I recommended your Couſin of Fenton's † errand to your courteſy, and altho' I hope that remembrance ſhall be ſufficient for his turn, yet becauſe I am perſuaded ye was not then reſolved what ſpecial end ye would make therein, and that the ſeaſon of the year draws now on, wherein of neceſſity it muſt be at a point, I have thought good to direct the bearer hereof, my ſervant and your friend, to be a remembrancer to you in that errand, whom I have inſtructed to tell you fully my mind therein, aſſuring myſelf, that, in dealing with this party, ye will not only conſider that he is one of your own neareſt kinſmen, and that he is one of my oldeſt ſervants, and the ſon of ſo honeſt a father ‡, but eſpecially and above all, that he

† Sir Thomas Ereskine, created Viſcount Fenton, and afterwards Earl of Kelly. His father was Sir Alexander Ereskine of Gogar, brother of the Earl of Marr, regent, and uncle of that Earl of Marr, to whom this letter is addreſſed.

‡ After the death of Regent Marr, Sir Alexander Ereskine had the cuſtody of the King's perſon committed to him.

was one of them that so happily and honourably preserved his life *, wherein ye breath under God, and who must ever requite with thankfulness those that use courteously any of them; as if he were not a king he would be their second against any of their adversaries. And thus wishing you a short and fortunate parliament there, for an antidote to our fashious [troublesome] and froward parliament here, I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

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* At Perth, 5th August, 1600, when the Earl of Gowrye and his brother were killed.

HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, TO CARRE, EARL OF SOMERSET.†

HONOURABLE AND WORTHY LORD,

If the plain dealing both of my phyſician and ſurgeon did not aſſure me of the few days I have to live, I ſhould yet have deferred the putting of theſe poor ſuits into your hands, leſt I might be thought ſtill rather to value your greatneſs than your goodneſs.

But, noble Lord, let me be beholden at my laſt farewel for ſuch poor toys as do rather eaſe my mind than pinch any man.

I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to ſtay, with all the power you can, the conferring of the office of the Cinque-Ports, either upon Pembroke or upon Liſle; for as they hated me, ſo they will plague my people and thoſe whom I loved.

Sir Robert Brett, at his coming to the place of Lieutenant, was content to depart with a plot of ground, for enlargement of my garden, which

† Communicated by the reverend Mr. Michael Lort, Greek Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Cambridge. The reader, who remembers the fate of Sir Thomas Overbury, will be ſhocked at the ſolemn averment of Northampton in his laſt moments, that "he did love the Earl of Somerſet "for *his virtues*, and not court him for his fortune."

could have been bought of him for no money. My very conſcience is preſſed in this point, and therefore cannot ſatisfy myſelf till I have put my earneſt ſuit into the hand of my deareſt Lord, to take care that his Majeſty admit no warden before he has given his word to him not to remove the poor diſtreſſed gentleman out of his Lieutenancy.

If I dye before midſummer, the farms of the Iriſh cuſtoms are not to pay me, tho' it be but one day before, which were a great wound to my fortune. No man can help this inconvenience better than your Lordſhip, by obtaining a privy ſeal that my executors may be paid, if it come to that hard ſtrait of a day or two.

Aſſurance from your Lordſhip, that you will effect thoſe final requeſts, ſhall ſend my ſpirit out of this tranſitory tabernacle with as much comfort and content as the bird flies to the mountain.

Dear Lord, my ſpirits ſpend and my ſtrength decays, all that remains, is, with my dying hand, to witneſs what my living heart did vow, when it gave itſelf to your Lordſhip, as to the choice friend whom I did love for his virtues, and not court for his fortune.

Farewel, noble Lord; and the laſt farewel in the laſt letter that ever I look to write to any man. I preſume confidently of your favour in theſe poor ſuits, and will be, both living and dying, your affectionate friend and ſervant,

H. NORTHAMPTON.

Tueſday at 2.

FINIS.